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Unruly Texts: Form and Function in Public Information Pamphlets

by

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Abstract

A rethinking of the history of the book model as it applies to non-book and ephemeral texts, with a focus on public information pamphlets as discrete text objects. Guided by Darnton's 'communications circuit,' this work examines the networks of social, technical, and material relations underlying the production, distribution, and circulation of pamphlets. The unity of form and meaning in the pamphlet form is emphasized, suggesting that the pamphlet can only exist as a recognizable text by virtue of its physical format. In the context of Foucault's discourse theory and de Certeau's inquiry into strategies and tactics in the practice of everyday life, *Unruly Texts* interrogates the concept of information as purely functional, suggesting instead that it is an ideological construction. An introduction and three chapters detailing the historical development of the pamphlet form, the operations of the communications circuit, and considerations of power and ideology are followed by two appendices containing illustrative material drawn from health pamphlets collected in Edmonton, and diagrams of the bibliographic models employed.

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Introduction

Textual critics almost never look down. The ground, after all, has little to offer in the way of intricate theoretical edifices, dense webs of allusion and reference, or colourful characters and rollicking plot. Neither does the ground provide much solid biographical fact to project onto, thoughtful commentary on contemporary society, or hints of a fascinating and resonant inner life. It is too resolutely *material*, too ahistorically *present*, too hopelessly pedestrian. This metaphorical ground we are treading, however, is littered with print. Here, scattered amid the trash, and at times indistinguishable from it, the texts of ordinary life lie just below the critical gaze. In their familiarity and their ubiquity these objects hold all the covert intelligence of a field operative. The multiple functions played by print in everyday lived experience, and the reader's complex encounter with a material text object can be examined with a sense of immediacy and relevance through materials such as public information pamphlets. That they have been overlooked until now is a problem of critical method rather than of the materials' worth.

The recuperation of ephemeral texts has been an emergent project in the last decade or so, as part of the critical turn towards the material object and the non-literary text. However, traditional conceptions of what constitutes a valued object of study have left behind an impoverished terminology of discussion. In her study of early modern political pamphlets, *The Marketplace of Print*, Alexandra Halasz comments on their

classification as "baggage" (1), trashy and transitory when compared to the collections enshrined in the Bodleian library. They suffer from a too-close association of form and function. The size and portability of the pamphlet form enables the movement and circulation of these "baggage books" (1); their very material existence aligns them with the populism and exchange of the marketplace and sets them against the weighty and fixed literary volume. Halasz makes clear the connection between accessibility and critical attention: whereas what is valuable should be *removed* from circulation and made inaccessible to all but the elite, what is without value escapes scrutiny. However, by envisioning the circulation of discourses as an exchange of commodities in a marketplace, where the easily moved have minimal worth, she introduces a material element to her critical acumen that is vital to the analysis of ephemeral texts. Crucially, Halasz asserts that "'pamphlet' does not describe content or even genre. It names a format" (14). As such, an understanding of print ephemera must focus not on *what* it says but *how* it speaks; the structure of the text and its presence as a material object are inextricable from its discursive function, and from the significance it has for the reader.

Taking a nodular 'text object' in place of a smooth literary 'text' requires a certain analytical agility; the holds have shifted and can no longer be exactly transposed from one form to the next. That is to say, connecting specificity of form with function demands that each textual form be considered as a discrete object of study. In their collection of essays, *Reading Books: Essays on the Material Text and Literature in America*, Michele Moylan and Lane Stiles offer a set of discussions on the relationship between materiality and meaning. Literacy, as they define it "may be said to include not only textual competence but material competence, and an ability to read the semiotics of the concrete forms that

embody, shape, and condition the meanings of texts" (Moylan and Stiles 2). Focussing on the book form, they argue that the text object serves as a remnant of the cultural work it performs, acting as a site of exchange between the world posited within the text and the world outside. The movement of a text, physically in terms of exchange and conceptually in terms of ideas propagated and responded to, loops through a circuit of "reciprocal influence" that "argues for a relationship between materiality and readers' responses to texts" (Moylan and Stiles 5). The text is always predicated in its form: "there is no such thing as a text unmediated by its materiality" (Moylan and Stiles 12). Moylan and Stiles propose an approach to books grounded in the material, "an approach that specifically posits the material text as a nexus in the intersection of literature, culture, and history" (12); this move beyond definitive literary content gestures towards the historically specific, extraneous, and even faddish elements that belong to the ephemeral object.

Our encounters with ephemeral texts are so habitual, so interconnected with utility and activity, that they escape reflection and evade recognition as sites of social exchange. As such, the study of these texts involves a heightened sensitivity to a kind of knowledge created and expressed performatively; we must consider the mundane as a set of complex practices that knowingly negotiate with discourses of power, and constantly shift in relation to them. To understand, or even to speculate on, the meanings attached to a text as it circulates between actors, we must have a sense of "the full range of social realities which the medium of print had to serve, from receipt blanks to bibles." Even a preliminary analysis should "consider the human motives and interactions which texts involve at every stage of their production, transmission, and consumption. It alerts us to the roles of institutions, and their own complex structures, in affecting the forms of social

discourse, past and present" (McKenzie 15). The ephemeral text, then, is a *social* text, and by accounting for its material existence we are less concerned with physical markers in themselves than we are with indicators of the concerns, acts, and processes that produce the text. The perpetual presence and ongoing circulation that characterize ephemera have worked against critical evaluation of them in this respect; the relations contained within the text and the significance of its link to practical activity are obscured by its form as a commodity. This outcome however, is not foregone: print historian Joad Raymond comments that at its inception, "the interconnections between the material, the commercial, the literary and the political in forming the pamphlet, in making it work as a means of speaking out, informing, and cultivating public opinion, would probably have been obvious" (Raymond, Pamphleteering 383). Our task is to make these connections visible once more.

The history of the book (*histoire du livre*) movement in bibliographic studies provides the groundwork for a study of this kind. With the work of bibliographers and theorists such as Robert Darnton, D.F. McKenzie, and lately Nicolas Barker, this field has advocated an expansion of what bibliography is and does, emphasizing a link between the study of the material text to social histories and empirically based studies of readers, reading practices, and textual reception. Sir Walter Greg's enduring comments on bibliography as concerned only with codifying "certain written or printed signs," considered only as "arbitrary marks" (qtd. in McKenzie 9) are inadequate to describing and explaining the multiple forms texts take, and the varied processes of communication that transmit and circulate these diverse texts. The history of the book, or 'print history' (which I prefer, as it accommodates non-book forms more flexibly), represents the

"convergence of several disciplines on a common set of problems, all of them having to do with the process of communication;" it is a social and cultural history whose "purpose is to understand how ideas were transmitted through print and how exposure to the printed word affected the thought and behavior of mankind during the last five hundred years" (Darnton 9). As well, the scientific aspirations of descriptive and analytical bibliography, comprising such topics as printing methods, physical components of paper, ink, typefaces and layouts, and comparisons and arrangements of primary documents, suffer when they are isolated from the social realities from which they spring and to which they respond. To this end, McKenzie comments "if a medium in any sense effects a message, then bibliography cannot exclude from its own proper concerns the relation between form, function, and symbolic meaning" (10).

With a turn towards historiography, "it is tempting, now, to claim that all bibliography, properly speaking, is historical bibliography" (McKenzie 12), drawing on fields such as the history of technology or information science. In this sense, history of the book not only creates space for the study of non-book forms, but pulls them back under critical scrutiny in order to better inform our understanding of formerly obscured aspects of 'literary' texts. By interrelating form and meaning and addressing both technical and social processes of transmission, McKenzie describes how an expanded print history is useful to the bibliographer/critic:

> In those quite specific ways, it accounts for non-book texts, their physical forms, textual versions, technical transmission, institutional control, their perceived meanings, and social effects. It accounts for a history of the book, and, indeed, of

> all printed forms including all textual ephemera as a record of cultural change, whether in mass civilization or minority culture. (13)

The study of everyday text objects, however, presents challenges unsuited to a purely bibliographic approach. When considering materials such as advertising, policy reports, or public information pamphlets, each with a highly particular function and belonging to a specific field of communication, it is vital to consider how these areas overlap with the text itself, and even how seemingly disparate fields overlap. After all, audiences inhabit varied spheres of activity at the same time—why should we place boundaries on the texts that they access across these spaces?

This thesis proposes to identify ephemeral print materials as discrete text objects, and to begin formulating a possible methodology for their study as such. There are very few in-depth studies of print ephemera in any form: until recently, the discipline of print history has been concerned mainly with more traditional bibliographic objects or with theorizing the potential of the field itself. I have chosen to limit my discussion to the form of public information pamphlets, concentrating specifically on health information materials. I confess that this project was born out of a curious fascination with this body of text, and the bodies it seems to encompass, at once embarrassingly intimate and defiantly public. In the course of researching other projects in popular texts and the role of print in the public sphere, and while working in community outreach, the health pamphlets seemed ever present. Whenever I ran across them, I read them, and kept them. Health pamphlets serve as an instantly recognizable form of print, given the sheer volume of such materials and the high resonance of their subject matter to the everyday lives of people. Their stylized language, mediating complex medical terminology, reporting

government policies, and addressing audiences directly, forms a recurrent pattern across variant texts and different campaigns and distinctly marks the pamphlet form. As well, the highly visible roles of the bodies that produce these materials (all levels of government, community groups, medical boards, drug companies, to name a very few) speak to the rank of health issues on the public agenda and offer an interesting perspective on the texts themselves. Taken together, the set of discourses surrounding health information pamphlets, the social relations behind their manifestation in print and circulation through all levels of society, and their particular language and design strategies proved irresistible.

I will address the problems of definition, construction, function, and reception as they pertain to health information pamphlets—not the least of which is the contentious term of *pamphlet* itself. As Raymond states, in relation to political pamphleteering, "the pamphlet is a form that requires a complex and historically relative definition...a definition that attends to generic and rhetorical elements, to its political and polemical uses, to material form and to the circuits of production and consumption" (Pamphleteering 25). The object described by the term 'pamphlet' has shifted greatly in the past centuries, while retaining a similar and recognizable physical format. As it continues to resist fixing even now, it is critical to lay out what I am discussing, and how these shifts are in fact a necessary part of understanding the pamphlet form, rather than being a detriment to analysis. This examination is strongly informed by a historiographic consideration of the mode of print production, the Foucauldian conception of discourse analysis, and Michel de Certeau's insights into the practice of everyday life. In an attempt to slice out a new critical space, I have begun from the proliferation of pamphlets on the ground today, uncovering the technical production and social-political reproduction behind their textual

form and the function they have come to serve by tracing the historical development of that form, isolating it as a distinct outgrowth print history more generally.

A second problematic term is that of *information*, both as a generic description of content and as a conceptualization of the currency of power. Communications theorist Brenda Dervin asserts that public communications campaigns (of which pamphlets form one aspect) are founded on a positivist model of information that assumes that information has truth value, it is objective, and that acting on it necessarily leads to better ends (69). Dervin's proposed "sense-making" approach to the analysis of mass communication focuses instead on "finding effective ways to hear how members of the audience make sense of their everyday lives and how their personal actions are linked to both the messages they attend to and the social structures they live in" (76). By privileging the position of the audience, and by relating the assimilation of information messages to other actions taken by the audience, Dervin's model of analysis has much in common with that of de Certeau. Both analyses offer insight into how the information embodied in pamphlets circulates and how it might be incorporated into future action; however, what is deemed to be 'information' at all is in constant flux, subject to competing authorities with competing discourses. McKenzie analogously describes such texts as "territories" divided by "border-line definitions," the forms of which "seldom correspond exactly." A definition in terms of one form or conceptual space "may be a subversive political act in terms of another" (McKenzie 47).

Explanatory models of such communications campaigns frequently use health issues and social problems as case studies; these 'problems' tend to appear high on the public agenda, with strong institutional support in their identification, publicization, and

treatment. This attention usually translates into the resources necessary to mount a systemic campaign, and to fuel it by continually producing and disseminating information in its service. Information, in the case of health communication, is considered fairly transparently as something factual, quantitative, and true. Without interrogating the core concept of information, critics have been able to simplify their task and focus on communications campaigns primarily at the institutional and audience levels. They look at who produces the information, how they streamline the information for presentation, and how the population is 'audienced'—segmented by demographics, assigned a set of definable needs, and targeted by information tailored to address those needs.[1] Leaving aside other modes of communication, a print campaign may employ "[f]act sheets, flyers, brochures, and pamphlets [which] contain a small amount of background information, the main message, and a readily accessible resource for obtaining further information" (Nelson 129). But we are concerned with the medium of this information as more than just a conduit; the structure of the printed text should be seen as fused with the information it carries, and the physical markers it bears and the spaces it inhabits are as vital to the audience's perception of the pamphlet as the words addressed to them.

The structure of this thesis is guided by Robert Darnton's "communications circuit" model for print history. Darnton traces a 'life cycle' of the book, through the key points of 1) author; 2) publisher; 3) printer (including suppliers and laborers); 4) shipper/distributor; 5) bookseller (including wholesalers, retailers, peddlers, binders, etc.); and 6) reader (in various roles and formations as purchaser, borrower, book clubs,

[1] The strategic nature of public information campaigns versus the tactics of the readers who encounter the texts they circulate will be interrogated in more detail in Chapter III of this paper, in light of the arguments of Michel de Certeau.

and libraries). The model must be conceived of as circular because of the link of readers back to the author, whom they influence "both before and after the act of composition" (Darnton 11). Earlier print historians had tended to sever one point of the circuit from the rest in their analysis; Darnton's approach emphasizes the interrelation of the various points to set up communication as a *process*. Favorable to my purposes, the communications circuit also enables a wide-ranging analysis of the material conditions bound up in the production and movement of a text; the text so conceived is both a discrete object and a manifestation of the network of these processes. The other key to Darnton's model is that the movement from point to point occurs within a specific "economic and social conjuncture", which also marks the intellectual and public influences on a text and the political and legal sanctions to which it might be subject (Darnton 12). These factors, recalling both the Marxist mode of production and Foucault's discourse analysis, bear on an actor's relationship to a text at all stages, and are also looped back into a response to the text.

With an eye to clear delineation, Chapter I, "Definition and History of the Pamphlet," traces the historical development of the pamphlet form, navigating the slippage from polemic to policy in order to come to a preliminary definition of this text object. Chapter II, "The Communications Circuit," addresses the points of the communications circuit more specifically, adapting them to the pamphlet form specifically in order to define and describe what a pamphlet is. Chapter III, "The Ideological Conjuncture," takes a closer look at the discursive webs surrounding health information pamphlets in a discussion of the interests at play in the texts, and how the texts function as a conduit of information between communicative points. In the interest of applying the

above discussions to concrete text objects, I have integrated two extended examples into the body of my thesis: the publishing and educational company Life Cycle Books and the 'Gay Men Play Safe' campaign produced by AIDS Vancouver, both of which were drawn from health information pamphlets collected in Edmonton between March 2004 and October 2005. Following these major sections is a set of appendices. Appendix A contains all illustrations and visual references listed or described in the body of the thesis. Appendix B includes three versions of the communications circuit, as outlined in Chapter II: Darnton's original model, the revised model proposed by Thomas R. Adams and Nicolas Barker, and my own configuration.

A Note on Archiving

In the course of researching this project, I amassed over two hundred health information pamphlets and related materials, all of which were collected in Edmonton between March 2004 and October 2005. Because of the centrality of the material text to my critical theme, finding a way of integrating these objects into my discussion was a priority. It was important that the features of the text be preserved with as much fidelity as possible, while also allowing for quick reference and manageability over a large and diverse archive. Often the primary source materials I am dealing with have very little in common, other than their format and a general topic area. As well, theorizing and justifying an archive of random, everyday texts presented some conceptual challenges. A chronological ordering, for the most part impossible due to the rarity of specified publication dates, does little to enhance our understanding of the material, and sets up a

false pattern of development and change in style and strategy. Attempting to divide the collection based on the sponsoring body or issue/theme was similarly inadequate, as they frequently overlap and build on one another's platforms. Lastly, organizing my collection around strictly material principles (paper sizes, number of folds, size of illustrations, colours of ink, blends of typefaces, etc.), while evading these conceptual issues, falls back into the dry formula of textual bibliography criticized by the history of the book movement in the first place.

I have found a welcome solution in the Streetprint engine, a tool for digital archiving first proposed by Matthew Ogle in his 2004 thesis "The Streetprint Engine", and subsequently developed in the CRC Humanities Computing Studio at the University of Alberta. This software addresses these very issues of organization and access by allowing the individual researcher and the reader (in this context termed an 'end user') to define the collection in the ways most useful to him/her. Streetprint was designed to respond to a similar problem of preserving and circulating fragile and ephemeral print objects, and the body of research collections and projects that have sprung up in its wake maintain its core values of "finding value in the popular" and promoting the "importance of public circulation" (Streetprint.org). As such, the physical versions of my texts have been scanned into an online database, enabling the user to engage with them as they are laid out on the printed page. The preservation of a complete image has great advantages over a purely fulltext form, though some of the tactile dimension of the physical print object is admittedly lost. As well, the user (or the researcher), can sort through the collection based on any combination of the criteria that were so problematic above: date, size, format, location, producing body, title, and topic. By allowing the user to define the terms on

which s/he engages with the archived material, rather than arbitrarily limiting the organizing principle, this style of digital archive restores some of the movement characteristic of the pamphlet form in its physical version. As well, navigating through the database archive, linking from one point to another in an open-ended manner, replicates the indeterminate location of the pamphlet on the streets and in everyday spaces. The Streetprint archive recaptures something of popular print's natural habitat, so to speak.

This has seemed to be the best way to organize and present the source material on which this project rests. In a way, it completes the circuit of my own research; my fascination with pamphlets and the genesis of my work here came out of my earlier work on Streetprint and a site I created for the Edmonton Popular Print research institute. By returning now to the physical form of the text as known to and used by a popular audience, I am happy to explore new meanings in the ideas by which I have been guided. This site, *Public Information Print*, in its digital form at <http://www.crcstudio.arts.ualberta.ca/pip>, should be considered an addendum to the research paper, although it can also function as a stand-alone archive available for future inquiries. In addition, printed screen shots of any archived pamphlets referenced in the body of the paper will be included in Appendix A, with a more detailed outline of the structure of the database archive and the procedures used to construct it.

CHAPTER ONE

Definition and History of the Pamphlet

In order to build an account of what public information pamphlets are, we must begin with that slipperiest of terms: pamphlet. Rather than following an evolutionary path from oral culture to contemporary mass media, this study of health pamphlets must take into account several parallel developments: print technology, demographic transformation, medicalization, and advertising. Contemporary information pamphlets comprise aspects of all of these, and it is important to have a sense of how these diverse influences are entwined with the print object in order to investigate how the pamphlet operates in the hands of its readers. The physical pamphlet form is closely woven with the development of print in England. In his study *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain*, Joad Raymond offers a detailed account of the significance of pamphlets in their polemical incarnation, and the political context in which they were produced. Although 'pamphlet' in this paper designates a very different body of texts from the early modern versions described by Raymond, the contemporary pamphlet can be traced from this print history; indeed, the slippage in the term offers great insight on how pamphlets circulate and the various meanings attached to them. Raymond's remarks on "the advent of the pamphlet as an object and a concept" (Pamphleteering 25) correspond to an emphasis on materiality and utility necessary to the study of ephemeral texts, and as such provide a firm starting point. He identifies the need for a definition of the text object

closely related to its historical context, construction, use, and patterns of circulation. Significantly, pamphlets exist in a *recognizable* form: as polemical works "they are literary texts, often highly artful and indirect, best understood and appreciated with reference not only to immediate social and political context" but also to the internal conventions of the form. The pamphlet is centrally a site of exchange and negotiation, relying on "intertextuality, and on readers' familiarity with pamphlet genres, conventions and decorum" (Raymond, Pamphleteering 25). And as a discrete mode of communication, the pamphlet is reciprocally implicated in the development and circulation of printed information.

The term *pamphilus*, for an amatory poem (*OED*), first appeared in Anglo-Latin writing in the fourteenth century, and in vernacular English during the fifteenth century, taking on the diminutive suffix *-et* as a familiar description for any small book. Raymond states that "'pamphlet' became a useful and meaningful word" in the sixteenth century, and entered into common usage in the 1580s (Pamphleteering 7)[2]. The use of the term as a practical designation occurs within a century of the first printing, in any form, in England, which has been dated to 1476 (Clair 20)[3]. As printing began to spread, the term "began to specify a 'separate,' a small item issued on its own, usually unbound, not substantial enough to constitute a volume by itself" (Raymond, Pamphleteering 7). In form, "[a] pamphlet typically consisted of between one sheet and a maximum of twelve sheets, or

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[2] The *Oxford English Dictionary* dates the first use of the Middle French *pamfilet* as early as 1415, though this is in reference to a minor poetic work and not a form of printed object (*OED*).

[3] Colin Clair identifies the first printed object in England as a Letter of Indulgence printed for John Sant, Abbot of Abingdon by William Caxton at Westminster, dated 13 December 1476. The first book printed in England, Caxton's edition of the *Ordinale*, followed the next year; this volume was also the subject of the first printer's advertisement in England (Clair 20-1).

between eight and ninety-six pages in quarto;"[4] later definitions broadened to also include single sheets of news and polemic topics (Raymond, Pamphleteering 5). By the 1580s the word 'pamphlet' identified as a distinct object "a short, vernacular work, generally printed in quarto format, costing no more than a few pennies, of topical interest or engaged with social, political or ecclesiastical issues" (Raymond, Pamphleteering 8). These works stand apart from the major press runs and serious works in terms of their language (common, not scholarly), size (brief and small rather than physically and intellectually weighty), cost, topic, and audience—all of which factors are encompassed in this very workable definition. By the end of the decade, pamphlets became associated with subversive and disruptive elements of society, and were regarded as dangerous and threatening works, dismissed by official authorities, but needing to be monitored: they were "small, insignificant, ephemeral, disposable, untrustworthy, unruly, noisy, deceitful, poorly printed, addictive, a waste of time" (Pamphleteering 10). Echoing this sense of indecorousness, Raymond notes an obsolete sixteenth-century use of the word 'pamphlet' to mean a prostitute; "this may have coloured the name for a cheap book, available to any in return for a small payment"[5] (Pamphleteering 9). In this vein, Raymond also identifies

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[4] Traditionally, paper sizes were defined by the names for large sheets, and then by the number of times the sheet was folded. The folio, for example, was a sheet folded once in half to make two pages, the quarto four pages, the octavo eight pages, and so forth. With sheets bearing names like 'Emperor,' 'Grand Eagle,' 'Imperial,' and 'Royal,' it should come as no surprise that larger sizes were accorded greater value. This scale was more or less standard in British printing until 1975, when it was replaced by the A series of paper sizing, a move which also standardized the various international scales in use. (Wikipedia, "Paper size")

[5] John Taylor's 1622 poem "A comparison betwixt a *Whore* and a *Booke*" would seem to bear out this connection (ll 1-10):

> Me thinks I heare some Cavillers object,
> That 'tis a name absurd and indirect,
> To give a Booke the Title of a *Whore*:
> When sure I thinke no name befits it more.
> For like a *Whore* by day-light, or by Candle,

another minor usage of the term, denoting "a collection of literary items, in poetry or prose, which were produced to be disposable rather than enduring...[produced for] gentleman readers who sought entertainment or titillation" (Pamphleteering 7). The emergence of print, then, quickly fell into a system of hierarchies, privileging erudite and religious works and devaluing immediate concerns relatable in the common language. This division was marked, among other things, by distinctions in size, format, price and attitudes toward the various forms of print: these markers have carried through in assumptions and expectations about texts and readers that continue today.

The placement of the pamphlet among the rabble uncovers some interesting connections between print culture and the marketplace, as do some of its generic precursors. Pamphlets, especially as they contain popular texts (stories, fables, news, accounts of travel, battle, and discovery, astrology, and folk medicine) occupy the space between the orality of gossip and the authority of the printed text—which they materially resemble—but "it is their printedness that allows them to circulate like gossip" (Halasz 3), abstracted from such direct social contact. After major religious and philosophical texts, some of the earliest printed materials were medical and instructional; the first known printed medical work, the 'Bloodletting Calendar,' dates from 1456, only one year later than the Gutenberg Bible (Clair 9). It was followed by the *Aggregatio medicamentorum* of 1470, the first known medical dictionary, and Heinrich Steinhöwel's *Ordnung wider die Pestilenz* (1473), the first plague treatise in print (Clair 13, 16). Though these remained

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'Tis ever free for every knave to handle:
And as a new *whore* is belov'd and sought,
So is a new *Booke* in request and bought.
When *whores* wax old and stale, they're out of date,
Old Pamphlets are most subject to such fate.

heavily specialized, and rare, some of the most popular printed materials were newssheets and 'true accounts.' Raymond states that "popular forms of print in Britain had been used to disseminate news and propaganda since the early sixteenth century" (Pamphleteering 12); the earliest surviving news-pamphlet in English—*The Trewe Encountre*, an eyewitness account of the Battle of Flodden—dates from 1513 (Clair 39), with folded, sheeted newspapers appearing a century later (Clair 76). After the 1580s, "the prose pamphlet began to displace the ballad as the most common medium for conveying news" (Raymond, Pamphleteering 17)[6], its "plain-style, improvisatory approach to language, and commitment to an everyday decorum, [anticipating] the path that pamphleteers [would] tread when they wish[ed] to address a wide, unlearned audience" (Raymond, Pamphleteering 18). The pamphlet draws on the intensely social aspects of medical treatment and the exchange of news, displacing the personal interaction these were once predicated upon. Because they continue to recall such relationships, and fill the void of their absence, it is not surprising that health information pamphlets remain such a readily recognizable type. Printed forms are comparatively individualistic; the human 'authority' of the doctor, priest, or witness is transferred to the printed page, infinitely mobile, immediately available, and deferrable. This element of abstraction is a reminder that "neither 'pamphlet' nor 'book' is a generic category, but, rather, an indicator of object form that slides easily into commodity designation (and dismissal)" (Halasz 3).

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[6] Raymond suggests that the lack of news pamphlets surrounding the 1569 Northern Rebellion, in which the Earls attempted to place Mary, Queen of Scots on the English throne in defiance of Elizabeth I, indicates that "a market for the popular news pamphlet had not yet appeared" (Pamphleteering 16). Instead, a separation between religious tracts, moralizing on the Catholic Question, and ballads, sentimentalizing the conflict and urging obedience, fed the public's appetite for news while shaping opinion from the top-down—without allowing space for critical argument or printed response. By the 1580s and 1590s, a sufficient market for the pamphlet had at last coalesced, caused in part by the less controversial war with Spain (Raymond, Pamphleteering 17).

This intellectual history is entwined with the technological history of print, and in many ways the successive production of text objects and the ends served by materials inform each other. In discussing text objects, it is impossible to sidestep the "historical entanglement" of print technology as a specifically capitalist mode of production (Halasz 18), and as a microcosm of its characteristic capacity for repetition, circulation, and reproduction. The historically specific "deployment of print technology," transforming mutable language and elite knowledge into forms at once fixed and mobile, enabled the "widespread production of discourse as a commodity and in doing so disrupted existing patterns of production, circulation, and valorization" (Halasz 1-2). Alexandra Halasz identifies the founding of the Stationer's Company of London (in 1557 (Clair 55)) as "the beginning of a separation between printing and publishing, dividing the material production of text objects from the financing enabling it. Initially, printing meant having the physical capital necessary to produce/reproduce a text—press, type, ink, labourers—while publishing meant supplying the text itself, and distributing the finished product. However, within the Stationer's Company, certain members maintained earlier monopolies on patents and special privileges that determined the flow of print; these individuals more often than not employed printers to deal with the productive end of the trade and instead turned their interests (and capital investments) to the conditions and materials of publication, especially protection of exclusive rights to print texts. By the end of the sixteenth century, printing rights had been reconfigured as "textual property"—not so much a thing as a legal fiction establishing control over the form and circulation of a text (Halasz 23-5). The particulars of copyright history and the early book trade are far beyond the argument at hand; however, the ideas of property, control, and reproduction

are inextricable from the concept of 'information' and the curious history of the pamphlet form.

Early printing was fraught with conflicts over rights, authority, and competing interests of printers, publishers, sellers, authors, readers, and what we would now term the 'public domain;' pamphlets can be read as a symptom of this disorder, and as a way to reconcile it. Valuable, elite texts remained scarce, as permission to print them was tightly controlled by the Crown, and the cost of mounting an operation large enough to produce them was high. Consequently, there was a proliferation of small, cheap materials—usually anonymous or pirated, and outside official regulation. These were debased and devalued in several senses of the word: not only were they considered inferior in subject to elite works, but they were frequently poor quality copies and popular reworkings of classic texts and serious literatures. They were accorded a lesser value in the marketplace due to their volume and accessibility, and in the eyes of public officials these texts were interlopers, distracting from more proper and uplifting works. However, pamphlets and other cheap print enabled printers to work continuously, supplying the trade with enough labour to support more important works, and by appealing to segments of the public that elite texts might not have, broadening the market for print more generally. Moreover, the income from pamphlets enabled printers to invest in the more highly valued pieces of textual property; it was only by way of the pamphlet that the literary text object could exist. Halasz underscores this paradox by observing that "though pamphlets bear no cultural value or authority, they are the basis on which economic capital can be accumulated," and cultural commodities can circulate (27).

Media historian Paul Levinson traces the successive development of key technological innovations in the transmission of knowledge, from the written phonetic alphabet to current trends in electronic communication. He blends a Marxist analysis of the mode of production, describing the relationship between various productive forces involved in reproducing and circulating texts and the social relations affecting both the production itself and people's encounters with the texts, with an evolutionary model of communications technology, in which various media must either adapt to changing social circumstances or be displaced. Levinson terms this set of interactions "soft determinism," in which technologies "make events possible—events whose shape and impact are the result of factors other than the information technology at hand" (3). Soft determinism creates the conditions enabling actions to occur, "rather than the technology inevitably and unalterably creating that result" (4), allowing for interplay between the potential relationships created by a new technology, and human activity in enacting that possibility. There is a vital element of human choice and competing interests behind communications media, and the information in which they trade, that is obscured when technology alone is viewed as a determinant. Levinson describes a state of power in constant flux between established modes of thought and ways of processing information and emergent modes that resist the authority of tradition, finding and exploiting unforeseen gaps; the history of print and the mutation of the pamphlet form in particular illustrates this "tension between information at large and the sway of central authority, between the puncturing of monopolies of knowledge and attempts to re-seal or re-establish them" (24). These junctures appear at moments of competing technologies, minor revolutions in the mode of production that reveal the failings and inconsistencies in the social order. The

pamphlet form appears at just such a break, when printing enabled a wider circulation of knowledge and greater access of the individual to the public sphere, but also before oral culture atrophied in the west and the sanctity and privileged textual engagement associated with manuscript production was supplanted. The authority of print was not yet presumed, though those speaking through the press challenged the singular authority of interpretation.

Disposable and voluminous, pamphlets escaped codification until 1640-1, when in the midst of political turmoil, religious dissent and the advent of civil war, as well as the glut of printed opinions inspired by these, the bookseller George Thomason began to collect pamphlets as "documents of controversial times"[7] (Raymond, Pamphleteering 6). That he was the first to do so systematically points to the historically specific relevance of the pamphlet as a genre, and as a conduit for critical reflection and protest. Navigating the intense social, economic and political changes at the outset of the modern period, "they assisted in creating informed critical debate about news, politics, and culture. Put another way, pamphlets became a foundation of the influential moral and political communities that constitute a 'public sphere' of popular public opinion;" in this moment, we must also consider "the rise of the pamphlet as a mode of expression and as a means of influencing the public" (Raymond, Pamphleteering 26). One of the earliest examples of print being turned toward a cry for social justice is in the pamphlets of Gerrard Winstanley, known as the radical leader of the Diggers, an agrarian communist movement of the 1650s. Winstanley's *Declaration from the Poor Oppressed People of England* (1649) attacks private property in language that is at once religious and mystical,

[7] This collection is now held in the British Library as the Thomason Tracts, and comprises some 22 000 printed items, mainly printed in London between 1640 and 1661 (British Library).

and politically impassioned. Winstanley succinctly states that "the power of enclosing land, and owning propriety [sic], was brought into the creation by your ancestors by the sword," contrasting this with the Diggers' resolution "grounded upon the inward law of love, one towards another, to dig and plough up the commons and waste lands through England" (Winstanley 633). This work, pointedly topical and gesturing to a universal sense of struggle, was intended as a declaration of the Digger cause. However, in the same moment, the Diggers also produced popular texts, such as songs and ballads (e.g. *The Diggers' Song*, c. 1650) to attract other common workers to their cause (Rudrum et. al 632-8). A selection of these texts, and others from the period, is included in Reginald Reynolds and George Orwell's *British Pamphleteers*, an anthology tracing short-format political writing in England from the sixteenth century until the nineteen-thirties (nearly contemporary with the date of the anthology); the Thomason collection is referenced a number of times in Orwell's introduction. Orwell provides a nuanced account of the rise of the public sphere, traced through political debates and printed ripostes. Though he centres on the sharpness and immediacy of such political involvement, taking aim at the haphazard and impoverished writing he observed in his own political climate, and as such veers away from the project at hand, his description of the print form at the heart of these debates has continued validity.

Orwell first distinguishes the pamphlet from other related forms, with recourse more to its content and goals than its status as a print object: "The pamphlet is habitually confused with other things that are quite different from it, such as leaflets, manifestoes, memorials, religious tracts, circular letters, instructional manuals and indeed almost every kind of booklet published cheaply in paper covers" (Orwell 7). Orwell has an interest in

setting down a firm definition of a pamphlet as a political form and a true literary genre, asserting that a "pamphlet is a short piece of polemical writing, printed in the form of a booklet and aimed at a large public" (7). This fairly rigid form concerns us less than does its prescribed function: "A pamphlet is never written primarily to give entertainment or to make money. It is written because there is something that one wants to say *now*, and because one believes there is no other way of getting a hearing" (7). This amazing quality of voice is tied to the vernacular tradition of the printed pamphlet, and evokes a conception of the public sphere as an arena for the interplay of ideas and opinions. However, the current understanding of a pamphlet, typified by health information, is devoid of this impassioned singular voice upheld by Orwell, tending instead to a clinical institutional drone. Arguably, the political aspect of the pamphlet remains; but, as its production is generally on behalf of large organizations, and more often than not affiliated with the state, the orientation of the information borne by the pamphlet has shifted. The arguments of the contemporary public information pamphlet are presented not as a critique or a challenge, but as *fact*. Alexandra Halasz, studying the circulation of print in *The Marketplace of Print*, quotes Orwell's definition of the pamphlet, and goes on to observe that its conceptualization primarily as a format, with minimal terms of definition, enables its use as a vehicle with "unrestricted discursive opportunity" (Halasz 14). She cites Benedict Anderson's account of the nation, and the public sphere, as a manifestation of "print-capitalism" emerging in the historical conjunction between print technology and capitalism. Together, these modes enabled new ideas of simultaneity and community by making a fixed text available to a wide audience in the same moment as well as giving rise to new ideas of authority in the printed word and stability in language (Halasz 41).

Anderson's model posits an "interaction between a system of production and productive relations (capitalism), a technology of communication (print), and the fatality of linguistic diversity" (Anderson, qtd. in Halasz 42). As such, the marked shift in language and goals attached to the pamphlet form can be explained by the peculiarity of discourse as a commodity: as an object, the utility of print is not immediately useful. It must be actively promoted and given value as *information* in order for it to have exchange-value and enter into circulation. The ideas contained in a pamphlet must no longer simply *speak*, but *do*.

The current idea of an information pamphlet is one that fits within the context of a campaign. Communications theorists Ronald E. Rice and Charles K. Atkin define public communications campaigns as "purposive attempts to inform, persuade, or motivate behavior changes in a relatively well-defined and large audience, generally for noncommercial benefits to the individuals and/or society at large, typically within a given time period, by means of organized communication activities involving mass media and often complemented by interpersonal support" (Rice and Atkin 7). Whereas Raymond's definition of a pamphlet, referred to above, centres on the print *object*, Rice and Atkin describe campaigns in terms of actions and motives, with a primary concern for social networks and roles. Historically, public communications campaigns seem to have branched off from nineteenth-century exposé journalism, and philanthropic projects of social reform. Early campaigns still fit within the singular relationship of an individual citizen to the public sphere, as they were typically led by "strong-willed individual advocates" (Nelson 6) wielding the printed weapons of newspaper articles, pamphlets and legislative testimony. The American example parallels the development of British public campaigns; however, Rice and Atkin attribute an even greater emphasis on individualism

to the more decentralized political system and revolutionary history of the United States. They claim that the limited authority of the government, both colonial and federal, created an early reliance on communications campaigns as primary instruments of social change (13). The impetus to commit one's ideas to print and to send them out into the world at large raises the "subtle and little-explored aspect" of pamphleteering in the "underlying force that leads a person to believe that what he or she has to say can be of interest to others. A strong sense of purpose or duty are possibilities that come most immediately to mind" (Adams and Barker 23). With a flavour of moral persuasion, "strong-willed individuals who reached the public through the pulpit or the printing press" (Paisley 24) mounted most American campaigns prior to the nineteenth century, certain in the truth and power of their pronouncements without much else to back them up. The mass media became increasingly important by the end of the century, when journalists picked up on this tone of outrage and took the initiative of social reform against the worst abuses of industrial capitalism, stressing issues such as unsafe food, child labour, and the lack of health care (cf. Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* (1906) investigating the meat-packing industry, and the debate about 'climbing-boys' carried out in the letters pages of the *Times*). In order to convince the public that these issues not only existed, but should be regarded as social evils, journalists sought to document where these 'evils' were found, and then expose the 'facts' to a wide and influential audience (Paisley 28). By the late nineteenth century, voluntary organizations entered into the debate, often contributing ground-level accounts of poverty, deprivation, and the necessity of society's intervention, (Nelson 6) and acting as a funnel for contributions of time and money.

Caught between the end of the Victorian era and postwar modernism, the 'Progressive Era,' particularly in North America, was rife with public information campaigning. This period of reform, dating from the 1890s to the 1920s, comprised the suffrage movement, Prohibition, the Efficiency movement, which advocated research and engineering to eliminate waste and redundancy in all aspects of public life and government activity. Notable among these, and speaking to many of the same concerns, was the social hygiene movement (enshrined with the founding of the American Social Hygiene Association in 1913, and with such renowned backers as sexologist Havelock Ellis), which created 'problems' out of such social ills as venereal disease, illegitimate births, prostitution, and drug and alcohol ab/use. The reformers, blending scientific terminology and justification (often eugenic) with a tone of moral outrage and accusation, relied heavily on modern media (especially printed pamphlets and posters)[8] to disseminate their message of self-restraint and individual responsibility (Wikipedia, "Progressive Era" and "Social hygiene"). Agencies such as the American Social Health Association and the United States Public Health Service were instrumental in compiling research data and providing the seal of official approval on the public information material of the hygienists, even declaring a "national social hygiene day" (American Social Hygiene Association; see Figures A1 and A2). These materials mark a departure in the form of public information print, using briefer passages of texts and relying heavily on photographic images and coloured illustrations to encourage, or threaten, their audiences, while moving away from allegorical to realistic representations. However, social hygienists, bolstered by obscenity

[8] A vivid digital archive of American social hygiene materials is available online through the University of Minnesota libraries at <http://special.lib.umn.edu/swha/IMAGES/home.html>. See also Appendix A for specific posters referred to here.

laws and conventional codes of propriety, present a very rigid and ordered vision of social relations with sexuality in the service of the family, and the forward-looking nation and 'race'. The Comstock Law (United States, 1873) in particular outlawed the dissemination of contraceptive information and devices as obscene[9]. The work of Margaret Sanger, in the same moment of reform, represents an interesting transition point between the rhetoric of the social hygiene movement and contemporary information campaigns. In 1912, Sanger defied the Comstock Law by distributing her pamphlet *Family Limitation* to poor women in the slums of New York, risking public scandal and arrest. She launched a newspaper, *The Woman Rebel*, advocating birth control in 1914, and in 1916 opened the first family planning and birth control clinic in the United States. It was raided and Sanger arrested for violating further obscenity laws in distributing birth control information by mail. *Family Limitation*, a slim 16-page publication, is a unique transition in the pamphlet form (see cover image in Figure A3): informationally, it is the predecessor to much of the material archived for this project, especially the sexual health pamphlets produced by government and professional health organizations.[10] However, in its expansive, wordy style and polemic tone, as well as in its undercover means of circulation, *Family Limitation* recalls the radical political pamphlets collected by Orwell and Reynolds. Certainly, the social hygiene movement was primarily a political one, focusing on the welfare of the state and the duties of the individual, an outlook that Sanger espoused, even while resisting the moral censorship of her contemporaries. At this juncture of thought and social convention Sanger hovers between inflammatory

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[9] In Canada, the dissemination of information relating to birth control was a Criminal Code offense until 1969 (WASH).
[10] See Figures A4-A7

statements directed at "the workers who are ignorant of the knowledge of how to prevent bringing children in the world to fill jails and hospitals, factories and mills, insane asylums and premature graves" and the "working women [who] can use direct action by refusing to supply the market with children to be exploited, by refusing to populate the earth with slaves" (Sanger 3) with straightforward advice, even graphic description, on widely available substances and techniques that could be applied as contraceptives (7-9) and devices such as condoms and pessaries (9-10). The utility value of Sanger's *Family Limitation* as a reference and practical guide, as well as its ability to be discreetly circulated and consulted in private, prefigures the information sought and contained in the ubiquitous medical and health pamphlets of today.

The concept of 'information' is predicated on limits. It is attached to a distinct power structure governing access to knowledge and dictating who may act upon it; the nineteenth century 'social hygiene' movement, caught between a succession of scientific data and a moral fervency, is very much bound up in such an informational hierarchy. In *Power/Knowledge*, Michel Foucault identifies those voluntary organizations and individual advocates at the heart of early public communication campaigns as "agents of liaison." Under the guise of philanthropy

> people appear who make it their business to involve themselves in other people's lives, health, nutrition, housing; then out of this confused set of functions there emerge certain personages, institutions, forms of knowledge: public hygiene, inspectors, social workers, psychologists. And now we are seeing a whole proliferation of different categories of social work. (62)

Foucault identifies the rise of medicine, as a discourse with attendant institutions and a host of professional affiliations, as the common denominator among these various concerns; indeed, the activities Foucault cites as ordering and controlling—inspection of public and industrial facilities, regulating the layout of houses, and classifying individuals as "insane, criminal, or sick" (Power/Knowledge 62)—are precisely those addressed by social hygienists. The creation of these topics as a matter of public concern, a process achieved largely through determining and disseminating public 'information,' occurs in tandem with a reconceptualization of the role of the state in relation to its citizens, and in fact a reconfiguration of the 'citizenry' as the 'population.'

Stepping back to examine the genesis of the modern state, Foucault argues that 'population' became an object of discourse in the eighteenth century, following a great "demographic upswing" (Power/Knowledge 171) in Western Europe, which introduced new economic and political demands for coordinating and integrating this unexpected mass into a productive capacity. Swift's classic political pamphlet *A Modest Proposal* (1729) satirizes this preoccupation with productive bodies, pointedly turning on a rhetoric that abstracts the human element of the nation in favour of its utilizable resources. The idea of 'population' is one awash in numbers: the "numerical variables of space and chronology, longevity and health" (Power/Knowledge 171) become the means by which it becomes knowable, and through which it can be controlled ever more finely and minutely. Shortly after this time, the first English census was published in 1801 after being commissioned by an Act of Parliament (Clair 130), creating a definite set of data for the

documentation and classification of this suddenly present population[11]. By juxtaposing an indistinguishable mass of citizens to be ordered with a microphysics of power, "the body—the body of individuals and the body of populations—appears as the bearer of new variables" (Foucault, Power/Knowledge 172). Medicine, already concerned with bodies, became the means by which health and sickness became problematized as manipulable characteristics of a population, and the means by which the State could apply itself in its various new roles. Economic power was vested in harnessing the productive potential of all these bodies; one of the "essential objectives of political power" lay in discovering "how to raise the level of health of the social body as a whole" (Foucault, Power/Knowledge 169). Under the surveillance of the State,

> A 'medico-administrative' knowledge begins to develop, concerning society, its health and sickness, its conditions of life, housing and habits, which serves as the basic core for the 'social economy' and sociology of the nineteenth century. And there is likewise constituted a politico-medical hold on a population hedged in by a whole series of prescriptions relating not only to disease but to general forms of existence and behavior (food and drink, sexuality and fecundity, clothing and the layout of living space. (Foucault, Power/Knowledge 175)

These prescriptions channeling the knowledge of the medical field into the political power of social control are the very model of public information.

While the conception of the social body underwent this radical transformation, the doctor as a new figure of expertise rose to the head of it. During the senventeenth and

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[11] The first Canadian census, following Confederation, was taken in 1871. Faced with an accumulation of data, the Statistics Act created the Dominion Bureau of Statistics in 1918. This body became Statistics Canada in 1971, the year when for the first time most respondents completed the census questionnaire themselves by self-ennumeration (Statistics Canada).

eighteenth centuries, both England and North America witnessed the founding of a number of major hospitals and specialized medical institutions: Guy's Hospital, the first modern medical establishment (cf. Foucualt's *Clinique*) in England, was founded at London in 1724; the first clinic specifically for the treatment of venereal disease opened at London Dock Hospital in 1747. These institutions, accompanied by professional associations and journals (the *New England Journal of Medicine* was founded in 1812, followed soon after by the British *Lancet*, which issued its first number on 5 October 1823 (Wikipedia, "Medical journals")), became linked into a totalizing system of regulation and surveillance, entrenching the status of the 'expert' and shaping medical language into a technical and bounded code. As the State incorporated some of the technologies of knowing and ordering pioneered by the medical establishment, it moved into more of a caretaker role. Subsequently, as its various apparatuses became increasingly entrenched by bureaucratic operation, questions of reform moved into legislative and judicial hands. Accordingly, public communication campaigns also passed into the civil service, with which they are now primarily associated. Though stemming from the central political apparatus of the state, the information contained within the pamphlet form has taken on a neutral, *depoliticized* veneer. It is something to be used, not critically considered; its politics and its values are obscured by the openness and mundanity of its form.

The last remaining twist to the development of the contemporary public information pamphlet has come with the advent of desktop publishing, and the current popular focus on electronic communications media. The widespread adoption of duplication technologies such as the photocopier and the laser printer, themselves driven in part by the growing interconnection between offices and organizations across the

public and private sectors, has created a demand for a standardized body of materials. Pamphlets, produced in the same offices and by these same bodies, have also taken on a greater regularity of form in response to the shift in their material components. Paper is the primary variable in the creation of a pamphlet, central to determining its other material relations, and requiring knowledge and technical skill beyond setting words on a page:

> the underlying technology of paper works to keep the author/publisher distinction strong and pertinent. Words published on paper require a separate set of sheets for each copy of the publication; paper itself costs money...has weight...[and] incurs additional costs. Thus, in order for authors to be publishers in paper media, they must have sufficient finances and a whole bundle of skills, talent and knowledge that have nothing to do with the authored content of the publication. (Levinson 125-6)

International standards for paper sizes, as well as UN document sizes, are defined by ISO 216, which was passed by UNESCO in 1975 (Kuhn). Originally, this standard was devised in Germany in 1922 as DIN 476, spreading through a number of European countries thereafter, especially in the 1960s with copy machines becoming common. The ISO 216 ordinance identifies three series of paper sizes: A, B, and C, though it is the A series with which we are primarily concerned here. Each paper size in this set is based on a $1:\sqrt{2}$ aspect ratio, starting from A0, which has a total area of $1m^2$. Each successive size—A1, A2, A3, etc.—is defined by halving the preceding size parallel to its shorter edge, so that A3 is half A2, A2 half A1, and A1 half A0. The most common size of paper used internationally is A4, which is 210 x 297 mm. The A series of ISO 216, organized around one common ratio, enables photocopying, and scaling, without any loss of image or text

between sizes; furthermore, the system was designed with the intention of allowing one standard size to be folded into another, which was not possible with traditional paper sizes. Pamphlets and brochures are made by using one size larger than the finished form: for example, material printed on A4 sheets is then folded into A5 sized pamphlets. With the exception of Canada and the United States, most countries in the world have adopted the ISO 126 system of paper sizing[12]; however, because of my research location and the point of origin of much of my source material, this project must contend with the Letter-Legal-Executive paper system still prevalent in North America. By far, the most common form of pamphlet I collected in Edmonton (76 of 218 texts) was the twice-folded brochure, approximately 280 x 215 mm, corresponding to the Letter size when unfolded. This ubiquitous format underscores the material basis of the pamphlet form, and its lack of stability: had I been examining European pamphlets, I would have found my sample dominated by the single-fold A5 size brochure, 148 x 210 mm.

With the infiltration of digital technologies and communications systems like the Internet into business and bureaucratic practices, there has been a great deal of speculation on the survival of print in general, and information materials in particular. Many pamphlets currently produced by smaller non-profit organizations, and even major government campaigns are designed in-house using standard office software programs, and are printed using these same technologies before being taken to printers, if they are professionally produced at all. McLuhan observed that "the Xerox turned the author into a publisher," and with the added assistance of word-processing and graphics illustration programs, "the long-standing hegemony of high communication technology being out of

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[12] Japan maintains its own distinct paper sizing as well, defined by JIS-A and JIS-B; however, Japan's A series is identical to that of ISO 216.

people's hands as producers, available only as receivers...lay decisively, permanently, massively toppled" by ordinary desktop computers (Levinson 125, 118). Consequently, much of the material I have examined also exists in digital format, with the ability to be transferred between various users in the development and production stages, and to be accessed in this same format by audiences via the Internet. Though the Internet has existed in concept at least since 1969, when ARPANET, its military-academic precursor, was launched, it has only been since the introduction of the World Wide Web became publicly available in 1991 that its potential as a popular medium of communication has been realized. The vision (some might say idealistic) of the Internet as a repository of knowledge and unbounded personal reference source was made possible with the creation of the first search engines in 1993. The impact of these electronic media on pamphlets is difficult to determine; however, the fact that pamphlets can still be found in virtually every public arena, and that they continue to be produced and distributed in high volumes seems to indicate that they are not yet an extinct species. The pamphlet form is uniquely adapted for popular access and widespread public circulation in ways that other media are not. Electronic communication, though very much a part of contemporary culture and seemingly pervasive, is in fact an elite medium accessible only to those with access to expensive equipment or the knowledge of how to use the technology. More often, the high-risk audiences most in need of health information on addictions, sexuality, nutrition, and social services, are also at a greater disadvantage in terms of this access: the printed pamphlet, forming a part of their everyday lives at the ground level, bridges this gap. Furthermore, the vast amount of information available online can be daunting in its breadth, and can generally only be penetrated if one has a specific question in mind. The

pamphlet acts as a filter, containing brief, salient points on a given topic and offering further direction. As well, the pamphlet finds its audience rather than the reverse; whether it is passed along from hand to hand, or lies in wait for a chance encounter, the pamphlet often enacts the recognition of a previously unknown, or unacknowledged, problem. The future relevance of the public information pamphlet may be in this gatekeeping function, introducing a problem and then summarizing the resources available--agencies, books, websites--which the audience can use in formulating an individual solution, or incorporate into personal action.

CHAPTER TWO

The Communications Circuit

As one of the first self-conscious attempts to theorize print history, and to analyze the mechanisms by which bibliographers/print historians define and locate a given text object, Robert Darnton's "communications circuit" model, which dates from a 1982 article entitled "What is the History of Books?" is invaluable in identifying the social relations underlying the text, and the major points of contact between them. This model[3] moves through author, publisher, printer (and associated workers in conjunction with suppliers), shipper (and associated workers), bookseller (and associates), to reader, and back to author; it presents these as points in one continuous process, rather than constraining critical analysis of these roles by imposing artificial barriers between them. Darnton proposes a "holistic view of the book" (11) in order to "[discern] relationships between material conditions, social structures, and cultural values—relationships that establish the meanings print forms carry as they pass from author to reader" (Rubin, par. 5). It is a highly descriptive model, forging connections between the points by uncovering as much factual information about the figures, techniques, materials, objects, and places involved with each stage of production and circulation, giving preference to the human relations rather than technical processes. As well, Darnton emphasizes the historicity of the text object by including in his model the social and political context in which these human

[3] See Figure B1 for Darnton's configuration of the 'communications circuit.'

actors interact with print material in its various stages. Although he chooses to elucidate his circuit with reference to classical high Literature (Voltaire's *Encyclopedia*), Darnton asserts that the model should hold for "all periods in the history of the printed book," at any point of transmission in the circuit (11), and indeed for non-literary and even non-book texts.

The orientation of Darnton's communications circuit has been called into question by scholars more concerned with the technology and significance of the printed object in itself, rather than as a point of contact in the communicative process. In their article "A New Model for the Study of the Book," adapted from the Clark Lectures in 1986-7, Thomas R. Adams and Nicolas Barker re-evaluate Darnton's model, arguing that he gives too much attention to the people involved in creating and circulating print materials such that his model is more useful for the study of communication processes than of actual print objects (12). They propose instead a bio-bibliographic approach centering on textual influence: the stages in their cycle correspond to the emergence, reception and survival of print objects with the text itself as the primary focus. As Adams and Barker portray it, the life of a book depends on those who would preserve it from destruction or disappearance and not on those who produce it; it is held abstractly in what people see in it and how they respond to it, rather than being held in the hands of those who pass it from point to point. Adams and Barker invert Darnton's figure[14], placing the cycle of the book at the centre and the indirect forces influencing it on the outside, directed inwards. In place of the six groups of actors in the 'Communications Network,' they link five events in the "life of a book": publication, manufacture,

[14] See Figure B2 for Adams and Barker's reconfiguration of the 'communications circuit'.

distribution, reception, and survival (Adams and Barker 15). Notably, the book/print object enters Adams and Barker's cycle only after the text has been constituted as a 'publication,' that is, once the decision has been made to multiply the text for public distribution. The conditions of its authorship—material and intellectual—have been largely removed, figuring the text object as an already-existing fact in this analysis. The authors assert that "the text is the reason for the cycle of the book: its transmission depends on its ability to set off new cycles" (15). As well, the "social and economic conjuncture" of Darnton's model, with its overlapping circles of political and legal sanctions and intellectual influences (Darnton 12), has been replaced by "four separate zones, enlarging the scope of outside influences, on the periphery of the circle" (Adams and Barker 15): intellectual influences and political, legal, and religious influences remain, adding "Social behaviour and taste" and "Commercial pressure" (Adams and Barker 14). The effect is to suggest that these pressures can be made conceptually exclusive, and applied only to specific moments in the life cycle of the print object; in their revision of his model, Adams and Barker seem to restore some of the "artificial distinctions" on interconnected phenomena (Rubin, par. 7) that Darnton initially criticized. However, by rephrasing their analysis of print objects from the perspective of the texts' survival, the authors have set out an invaluable tool for considering the overall absence of ephemeral materials critically, such that non-survival can be understood as the interplay of the same factors conditioning preservation. By tracing the path of texts that have managed to escape the dustbin, the possible sites of divergence for those that have disappeared can be more easily recognized, and the circumstances of their more limited lifespan can be elucidated.

Both versions of the communications circuit offer useful models for organizing an analysis of public information print, each with certain advantages in considering different aspects of the life cycle of a pamphlet. I have chosen to combine portions of both Darnton's and Adams and Barker's figures, modifying them slightly and shifting poles where necessary to best accommodate the study of texts that remain highly public, in terms of purpose, production, and circulation, but are also intensely private in terms of their content and communicative strategies. The example of health information especially reflects this interplay of location. As a component of political campaigning, both formally in relation to the state and informally in the methods of other satellite organizations, pamphlets are frequently framed as being in the 'public good', a mission which is largely outside of commercial motivation—although the information they contain can be mingled with aspects of advertising and persuasion, as we will see. In this arena, the conditions of production and survival, as well as the methods of distribution, circulation, and exchange, underlying the public information pamphlet are subject to a different set of influences than the book trade, or at least a different combination of the same overarching influences. As Adams and Barker remind us, "[i]t is only in theory, in the simple context of a diagram, that these forces can be disentangled from each other, or from the special circumstances of the creation and survival" of print objects (39).

In my version of the communications circuit[5] I have opted to lay out stages in terms of actors, following Darnton, rather than processes. I have used 'publisher' as a point of entry in following the movement of the print object; the publisher is joined with 'organization' to account for the fact that public information pamphlets are largely

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[5] See Figure B3

produced by institutional or corporate bodies that also undertake publication in their own names. The 'author' is peripheral to this first pole, as the actual producers of text (more properly thought of as 'copy' in this case) are usually a part of the organization, or contracted by it, and rarely appear by name. The second pole corresponds to 'printer', under whom is subsumed the technical processes of composition, paper size, ink selection, and method of reproduction. Peripheral to this point is the 'designer', reflecting both the central importance of graphic design, typography, illustration, and layout to the recognizable form of the information pamphlet and to the ways in which these contribute to the text as read by the audience. However, because the design is often underwritten either by the organization or the printer, and the designer like the author frequently goes unnamed, I hesitate to include it as a direct link in the cycle. Following printer, the print object moves into the hands of the 'distributor,' who represents the fairly straightforward process of moving printed pamphlets to specific destination points accessible to the public. The next point, 'circulation,' is one of my own invention: it is intended to reflect the movement of an individual pamphlet through a number of hands in an opaque circuit within the greater communications circuit. The pamphlet may be picked up from its distribution point at a bus stop, glanced at and left for another reader, who may or may not attend to it, and who may or may not keep it. This reader may pass it along directly to someone else, or abandon it to be retrieved indirectly; this process may continue indefinitely, until the pamphlet either reaches an attentive audience, or becomes unreadable, whereupon it disappears from the circuit. The next point, 'audience,' is closest to the concept of the 'reader'; it indicates both the intended audience of the pamphlet, often statistically targeted, and the unintended audience who encounter the

print object in the course of its/their movement. As well, audience serves as a designation for the resting place of the pamphlet, the point at which it is removed from circulation. The circuit is closed by the response of the audience, which is incorporated into the strategies of the organization and the materials it produces in the future. In the centre of this circuit I have placed 'survival', in appreciation of Adams and Barker's recognition that critical analysis requires the preservation of some object to critically analyze. Its position reflects that survival is affected by all points of the communications circuit, and the print object can disappear from the record at any one of those points. I will elaborate on each of these points in the circuit in the sections below, drawing particular relevance to the health information pamphlet. Lastly, in terms of the "socio-economic conjuncture" (Adams and Barker 14; Darnton 12), I have chosen to retain Darnton's original configuration of overlapping circles, showing the intereconnection of intellectual, commercial, and social interests. However, I have accepted Adams and Barker's inversion of their pressure, and placed these outside of the circuit itself, acting inward. With respect to the discourse analysis that I will pursue in Chapter III of this thesis, I have drawn an overall circle around these overlapping interests and the circuit on which they act; this boundary reflects the entire set of competing political, legal, and religious ideologies shaping and responding to the network of social relations and communicative processes occurring within them. These repositioned concepts have been drawn together in a model which I hope illustrates the complexity of the relationships involved in the movement of any print object, and the even more precarious existence of ephemeral texts like public information pamphlets.

Organizations

In the production of public information pamphlets, author and publisher are often subsumed into a single organization. It is very difficult to posit a writer at all, as s/he primarily has an operational role, and is frequently a partner, employee, or volunteer with the organization in question. With a complete lack of identification and a tenuous attachment to the goals and policies of the group (other than committing them to paper), the actual writer must be regarded as no more than an appendage of the organization. As I have noted in tracing the shift in the public's understanding of what a pamphlet is and does, the transition from political manifesto to regulatory mechanism has overshadowed the individual impetus behind the production of the text, replacing it with a body of policies and specifications. Given the volume of information transmitted through pamphlets, and the direct, unadorned manner of its presentation, Orwell comments on what he sees as "the decay of the English language. This is all the more important because pamphlets are intended as propaganda, and are not normally produced by people who are writers first and foremost" (11). 'Propaganda,' in this case, might be better characterized as the strategic language used by organizations to enshrine 'facts' and to subtly persuade audiences of their validity, and by extension, the validity of the actions encouraged by the organization. However, such agenda-jockeying is potentially more transparent to analysis than interrogating the intentions and methods of a single author. The internal structure of the organization, and its external affiliations, will provide a better sense of the principles underlying the information presented in the pamphlet, as well as illuminating the process by which it is created.

When considering a group of texts promoting condom use to reduce the risks of HIV transmission among gay men produced by AIDS Vancouver, we may not know who set down the exact words on the printed page, but we can easily discover the individuals directing the project, who is responsible for approving the material, the sources of the information cited, the medical policies of AIDS Vancouver, the organization's overall mandate, the sources of its funding, and its links to other organizations (who may support the production of the text in terms of finances or staff). Frequently in Canada, non-profit organizations partner with various branches of government for purposes of funding and structure, using the government's resources and support, while maintaining a specificity of focus not possible within the complex operations of the civil service. AIDS Vancouver, in the above example, is affiliated with the Canadian AIDS Society, a national coalition of 115 community-based organizations focusing on education, advocacy, and support for HIV-AIDS related issues. This coalition, based in Ottawa, sets out national initiatives and policy guidelines, which are then picked up at the regional level (AIDS Vancouver). Campaign materials are similarly picked up and circulated between partner organizations: the 'Gay Men Play Safe' campaign archived here (Figures A8 and A9) was primarily developed by AIDS Vancouver, but publicity and distribution were spread across Canada via groups in Edmonton, Winnipeg, Toronto, Montreal, and Halifax (GayMenPlaySafe.com). The pamphlets I have archived were obtained through Living Positive and HIV Edmonton, who received campaign material directly from AIDS Vancouver. The details of these arrangements are key in uncovering the process by which such partnered information pamphlets are produced. We may also compare one particular text to others produced by the same organization for evidence of common

production style, templates, and sources. In this manner, the organization itself can be read as a social text, with its pamphlet material manifesting its underlying motivations symptomatically.

As public bodies, with such seemingly transparent structures, the information pamphlets produced by organizations are generally accorded greater credibility than texts circulated by individuals or private groups. However, it may be worth considering that larger organizations, especially those affiliated with the government, usually have greater resources to devote to the production of information materials; the 'credibility' of these sources may simply be a reflection of their greater professionalism of design, and larger volume of circulation. Regarding health information in particular, "messages sponsored by a recognized public health or medical source are usually perceived as more credible than those sponsored by a commercial source" (Nelson 68). By according health care the status of a 'public good,' rather than recognizing it as a site for transacting an exchange of funds and services, audiences implicitly approve the central role of government and non-profit organizations in promoting health research and encouraging the health of the population. In his discussion of American public communications campaigns, William Paisley outlines the competing actors, or 'stakeholders' involved in presenting a particular issue, and the public's acceptance of their positions. He asserts that prior to the Second World War, he asserts that the main stakeholders in health campaigns were voluntary organizations (with the entitlement to advocate the issues), the mass media (with access to the public), and the federal government (with the funding and infrastructure to implement information and outreach programs); however, since then these roles have been overtaken by social scientists, who offer a quantifiable theory-grounded approach to

planning, conducting, and evaluating campaigns (Paisley 15). In this light, campaigns now seem to fall under the model of the '3 Es' developed by the US Forest Service: education, engineering, and enforcement (Paisley 17). The "ownership" of a particular issue is suspended in the architecture of these competing groups, who make up the external institutional environment: the emergence of a new stakeholder "may seem to encroach on the entitlement of older stakeholders," and may even force a general shift in mandate. For example, "a recently formed agency may have a more activist charter or more funds for public outreach than an established agency" (Paisley 22), which may force existing groups to become more activist themselves, or to specialize in a different aspect of informational campaigning. Similarly, non-profit agencies and voluntary organizations may find their efforts overshadowed by federal health programs, accompanied with larger budgets, more staff, and greater reach—as well as more immediate public recognition.

The public's acceptance of a group's entitlement to the issue at hand is also central to the credibility of the information produced by that group. "Aggrieved groups have *first-party* entitlement to communicate in their own interest. *Second-party* involvement is more suspect; the public wonders why a group is involved if it is not directly affected by an issue" (Paisley 22). This apparent hierarchy of interests, and voices, in the presentation and reception of information is potentially damaging, particularly when 'information' is conceived of as an instrument of control, or at least as a guideline of varying benignancy. In relation to the information put out by government bodies, Raven observes:

> Although most would accept that such brochures are dispatched 'in the public interest,' recipients are not consulted in advance. No manifesto promise is that

> specific, or it might be argued, can anticipate such needs. At best (and discounting civil service advice and intervention), the accountability of the official leaflet publishers rests in a political authority technically removable at a later national (or sometimes regional or local) election. (Raven 22)

Various other critics of public information campaigns have suggested alternate configurations in order to resist this unidirectional model of information production. Dervin's 'sense-making approach' emphasizes the role of the audience in accepting and applying the information transmitted by organizations, regardless of its content; she assets that "the institution and the audience should be conceptualized as equal partners. More fundamentally, the institution—particularly when mandated as an institution that serves the public—should be conceptualized as responsive to that public" (Dervin 74). Similarly, in their discussion of community health campaigns, Rina Alcalay and Shanaz Taplin promote an increased role for the community in planning and implementing health education programs, rejecting the "vertical, paternalistic programs designed unilaterally by authorities and handed down to communities" (105). The theoretical implications of constructing and transmitting information, both for institutional bodies and the audiences that encounter health information pamphlets, will be discussed at length in the following section. However, I believe that the structure of the communications circuit proposed here, connecting the audience back to the organizations and publishers of pamphlet materials, offers scope for the criticisms leveled by these researchers. The movement of a text does not stop with its readers; their response anticipates a new text, as well as conditioning the survival of the one at hand.

Publishers

Adams and Barker identify publication as the "point of departure" (15) by which a text enters the communications circuit. This 'point' is a transactional knot, drawing together "four parties...any of whom might be identical with each other: author, patron (or financier), manufacturer, and distributor," and who together base their decision around the factors of "creation, communication, profit, preservation" (16). These actors are readily apparent in the conventional avenues of the book trade; however, their participation and motives in pamphlet publication are somewhat muddied. As Adams and Barker note, "[a] more prominent, although forgotten or ignored, kind of publication is undertaken by corporate entities" (17): they identify in particular the church, the state, and "commerce in all its forms." These organizational bodies sponsor the publication of freeprint material "based on the desire to satisfy non-commercial advantage (e.g. political control, religious orthodoxy or advertisement), profit, in an immediate sense, being a secondary or negligible consideration. These other gains are real enough to the sponsors" (17). The institutional weight of a group, as opposed to a lone individual writer, or even a contracted partner, does not immediately translate into a more lasting or more trackable print object:

> even if one is interested in getting hold of a particular pamphlet, it is often very difficult to do so. Pamphlets are issued by a multitude of different organizations, including many which disappear or change their names soon after they have

> come into being. No bookseller stocks or even attempts to stock all of them [and] they are nowhere listed in any comprehensive way. (Orwell 13)

This is especially true of smaller, ad hoc organizations that spring up in the service of a single, timely issue, such as activedmonton's promotion of increased physical activity in response to concerns of rising obesity (Figure A10), or for more decentralized groups who assemble their own materials, such as the University of Alberta's Peer Health Educators, which is affiliated with the University Health Centre there (Figures A11-A18).

Life Cycle Books, the company behind most of the pro-life and abstinence pamphlets distributed by local organization Edmonton Pro-Life, provides a clear example of the specialized publishing and distribution channels typical of privately published pamphlets. The company bills itself as "North America's foremost publisher of pro-life and abstinence books and other educational materials," though their catalogue seems to showcase promotional merchandise over their books and pamphlet materials. Since 1973, Life Cycle Books has maintained branches in Canada and the USA, each of which has its own catalogue (identical in terms of products/print) and pricing lists, and separate distribution channels. With the exception of Jana Spicka, a significant speaker and writer in evangelical women's and youth circles in the United States who has successfully branded her own line of materials, few of the pamphlets have named authors. Most are produced in-house by Life Cycle Books, on a narrow range of topics including abstinence-only sex education, pregnancy, adoption, and post-abortion counseling, as well as a set of pseudo-medical information pamphlets on related issues such as birth control, sexually transmitted diseases, emergency contraception, and abortion procedures. These texts seem to be aimed primarily at a teen or young adult audience,

and focus mainly on women, although there are several pamphlets directed at young men and potential fathers. All printed materials are full-colour and glossy, produced on high-quality bond paper in several different formats. The catalogue is of course a marketing tool, highlighting potential audiences and uses for Life Cycle Books' products and directing customers towards ordering. Bookstores, Christian retailers, church groups, as well as pro-life groups and individual supporters are specified as likely buyers. Unlike public bodies or community organizations who may provide pamphlets in bulk to other groups for distribution, Life Cycle Books *sells* pamphlets and tracts to these groups, with pricing based on the volume of the order. The profit motive in carefully segmenting audiences, and in the production values of the text objects cannot be discounted, nor can the company's interest in diversifying their offerings and appealing to a broader audience by maintaining a fairly moderate approach to the abortion debate (Life Cycle Books).

Pamphlets catalogued by larger publishers or government bodies are relatively more traceable than those produced by community or volunteer-based groups, but only texts bearing an International Standard Book Number leave a lasting trail through the print record. The ISBN is

> a system of numerical identification for books, pamphlets, educational kits, microforms, CD-ROM and other digital and electronic publications. Assigning a unique number to each published title provides that title with its own, unduplicated, internationally recognized identifier. Publishers, booksellers, libraries and others in the book industry use ISBN in order to expedite the handling and retrieval of publications. (Library and Archives Canada)

The ISBN system offers a mark of recognition, protection, and classification for a range of text objects, and can be an important aid to the documentation and survival of

particularly ephemeral print materials such as information pamphlets. In my archive, 22 of 218 texts have ISBN numbers: of these, 16 were produced by branches of either the federal or provincial government, one by a professional association linked to Health Canada, and one by a drug company. These last two also used a bound, paperback book format for their material, stretching the definition of what the 'pamphlet' format represents. Pamphlets with ISBNs occupy an interesting position, being both official and forgettable, a tension complicated by the fact that these ISBN-bearing materials are generally state documents. ISBN application also offers registration of the publisher as a public body, topic and title in a step towards regularity and searchability among registered materials. There is nothing inherently elite about the ISBN designation, in spite of the level of protection it grants to texts: it is free to publishers, professional, amateur and even individual—there is really no barrier to the similar registration of any pamphlet. Of course, the decision not to register may also be deliberate, reflecting the politics of the organization, as a form of protest, or to avoid censorship of controversial content or criticism. Marks such as the ISBN leave a trace as the text object passes through the communications circuit, so that the material never disappears completely. Publication is centrally a decision to act, setting in motion the technical processes and social relations that underwrite a text as something more than ideal; "[t]he end product of the decision to publish is a physical object, and the reasons why a particular form is chosen is an essential element in the process" (Adams and Barker 18). With this in mind, we now turn to the practical and aesthetic considerations of printing and designing public information pamphlets.

Printers

Darnton situates his communications circuit within the domain of analytical bibliography, whose purpose, he says, is "to elucidate the transmission of texts by explaining the processes of book production" (qtd. in Darnton 19). Typically, this involves building inferences backward from the structure of the print object; the printing process itself is the target of this examination as the point in the circuit at which the text takes on its material form. Orwell stresses the importance of access in his discussion of political pamphleteers, a consideration which is also relevant when thinking about the competition between organizations and issues for the public's attention. Orwell's characterization favours the illicit past of the pamphlet, where the legitimacy conveyed by print is compromised by its ephemeral form and relative anonymity:

> pamphleteering can only flourish when it is fairly easy to get one's writings printed, legally or illegally. Probably a slight flavour of illegality is rather beneficial to the pamphlet. When there is genuine freedom of the press and all points of view are represented in the press, part of the reason for pamphleteering disappears, and on the other hand, if one is obliged to break the law in order to write at all, one is less afraid of uttering libels. Violence and scurrility are part of the pamphlet tradition, and up to a point press censorship favours them. (Orwell 8)

Printing, though very much a technical and material process—noted by Adams and Barker as "primarily a matter of technology and economics" (18)—also serves as the point of a text's transition into the public domain. As an object, the text exists to be handled, circulated, and read, but also to be approved, condemned, cited, preserved or disposed of—each of which involves an interaction with its physical state as well as the underlying conditions of its production.

In choosing a particular medium for a text, its function often dictates form; whether health information is set out in a bound book, a stapled booklet, a folded brochure, a stack of handbills or a set of packet-sized cards (all of which are represented in the accompanying archive) has much to say about the context of its use, its perceived importance, or its intended audience. Design and layout are central to organizing the information and engaging the audience, "determin[ing] how the printed page [is] to appear to the reader, a process that marrie[s] technology with aesthetics" (Adams and Barker 19). These concerns have received a good deal of attention, but "in comparative isolation" (Adams and Barker 19) from their relationship to the act of reading and making meaning out of text; such communicative strategies have been heavily theorized in the health information literature from the perspective of social science research on literacy and behavioural psychology. As well, the design of brochures and other promotional materials are often scrutinized as objects uniting aesthetic and functional purpose (the juxtaposition of which is examined and lauded in the *Best of Brochure Design* series of books). Nelson outlines some of the challenges facing the transmission of health information in pamphlet form, and some of the barriers to comprehension of the text. These mainly revolve around clarity of the text and presentation and the distraction caused by the use of too many visuals and styles (Nelson 68). He recommends short, easily distinguished titles and labels—emphasizing the concentrated and strongly linear approach to information—with high levels of contrast and limited use of colour. Technical aspects of print and design, such as "typographic considerations" in determining proximity, alignment, repetition, contrast, and typeface selection, as well as such formulaic elements as the "data-ink ratio" (which compares the ink used for data, or

verbal information, with the ink used for other areas of the pamphlet), subtly affect the tactics applied by a reader in navigating the text (Nelson 164, 165).

Visual elements are often key to unifying and distinguishing the information present in a pamphlet. However, to avoid displacing the information itself, Nelson states that they should also be limited, and used only as a supplement to the verbal matter; he mentions as a useful tool for stressing a few specific summary points. Pictures, either vivid photos or the sedate line drawings well represented in my archive, are used "to show sequences of interrelated processes, enhance key figures (saliency), evoke emotions, and provide realism to communication activities" (Nelson 162). Arguably, photos are more effective than drawings at commanding attention. In the example of Life Cycle Books, the more lighthearted materials, or those addressing the positive aspects of pregnancy and motherhood are more likely to feature drawings (see Figures A19 and A20). However, those focusing on the moment of choice, relating personal narratives, or depicting 'crisis' situations feature photos of young men and women[16] (see Figures A21-A23). This 'realism' extends the context of the information provided in the pamphlet to a world of human actors and concerns, attempting to mimic the human connection displaced by the print object. Pictures, in place of people, are "well-suited for communicating non-quantitative information such as people affected by the issue being discussed, real-life events, nonverbal communication, and showing how causal events and processes unfold ('story lines')" (Nelson 162). These features may also help to forge

[16] These photos, often in sepia or black and white tones to further capture the solemn tone of the text, seem to be repeated across different pamphlets (see Figures A21 and A24). Taken together, this repetition not only makes the production/design process transparent—text block here, insert stock photo of 'anguish' there—but may also reduce the sense of personal connection conveyed by the figure in the photo.

connections with the intended audience by provoking them to recognize themselves (in terms of gender, age, race, occupation, or other social roles); in turn, this may result in a greater receptiveness to the health information and actions advanced by the pamphlet.

Distributors

Distribution, both wide and carefully targeted, is the basis for the movement of public information pamphlets through the public sphere, and into (and out of) the hands of their readers. It is the point in the communications circuit at which the print object is transferred from its producers to its readers, intended or not. I prefer to identify distributors as the primary agents of a pamphlet's motion—where the freshly printed material *enters* the market, or public sphere of exchange, to separate them from the secondary activity of circulation, in which the print object moves from hand to hand *within* the marketplace. The plethora of pamphlets printed by countless organizations has refined the freeprint marketplace to such an extent that each individual pamphlet addresses a very specific topic, and as such must reach a very limited audience. An effective print campaign goes beyond saturating the public with a single general message (e.g. 'stay off drugs'), instead creating multiple, detailed messages and attempting to match them to bodies with an interest or a stake in the particular message. For example, a message to youth about removing themselves from threatening situations can co-exist with information about harm reduction aimed at regular injection drug users: both messages attempt to address the same overarching problem of drug use, but at different stages, and in terms relevant to different audiences. Further, the same message may exist

in language altered slightly to address different value systems. The pamphlet "Secret Sorrow" (Figure A25), published by Life Cycle Books, exists in both a secular and a Christian version, and the publisher explicitly markets this distinction (Life Cycle Books). In this manner, a wider range of texts can circulate at the same time without detracting from one another, even without crossing one another, while reflecting that health and social problems can rarely be dealt with in a single monolithic approach. In fact, over-generalized and disregarded information can prove detrimental to the persuasive power of pamphlets collectively: "By creating clutter in the health information environment, they [haphazard health messages] may actually have a negative impact to the extent that they interfere with relatively fewer well-designed and well-communicated health messages" (Mailbach and Parrott x).

The question of space is key in identifying audiences and potential distribution environments. In his discussion of public communication campaigns from the perspective of 'social marketing,' Solomon finds place to be integral to the distribution channels of public information:

> Many organizations have found that having a smaller distribution channel that it can more easily support and motivate is better in the end than having the largest number of distribution points but at a lower quality. There is a lesson here for public sector organizations that try to obtain the greatest number of outlets rather than focusing on the cost/benefits of distribution. (93)

'Place' or 'space' in this sense describes a configuration of material, temporal, and discursive elements juxtaposed, set off against one another, and implicated by one another; I refer both to the physical placement of the pamphlet, and to the social and

economic demographics of its intended readership which are marked by its surroundings. To a large extent, distribution is based on audience, as defined by the organizations themselves, and by the self-recognition of readers. However, some of the methods used in public information campaigns are also notable in outlining this link in the circuit. Direct mail and pseudo-personalization have become widespread tools of both corporate and charitable organizations in recent years, using large mailing lists and demographic information to send promotional/informational/solicitation materials directly and by name to individuals at home or at work. This strategy, however, requires access to this information, either by the organization researching and compiling audience data, or by purchasing a list from another group. As well, it requires a much larger budget—for researching or otherwise obtaining information, for mailing costs, and for the materials themselves—than less direct methods. The most common approach, especially for smaller groups and non-profit organizations, is to integrate health information campaigns into other community support and outreach activities, relying on existing human networks to set print materials in motion.

In their research work on non-traditional HIV print materials, Lisa Bond et al outline the factors in creating and distributing discomforting print information in a receptive manner to a difficult and inaccessible audience. The researchers relied on indigenous (i.e. part of the community) outreach workers and volunteers who, after engaging in direct contact with members of the target audience (young, low-income, urban women), selected from a range of materials those most closely resembling the individual's situation. As well, the researchers used local media drops, leaving various pamphlets in businesses and institutions in the area, or frequented by the target audience

(clinics, daycares, food stores, transit centres, etc.) and published their 'role model stories' in other print outlets, such as community newsletters and higher-circulation newspapers (Bond et al 290). This combination of tactics, all of which must operate in the same spaces as the intended audience, is characteristic of the fragmented distribution of health information pamphlets. Location is central for practical reasons of reaching the public, but it may also involve political considerations. With respect to the 'Gay Men Play Safe' campaign, location is an assertion of visibility. The "Mr. Bendy" card (Figure A9) was also produced as a billboard in a number of major Canadian cities; the text only design proved to be less confrontational to advertisers in outdoor spaces. However, the racier imagery of "Whatever you call it..." (Figure A8) was used in bars, urinals, and other indoor spaces (GayMenPlaySafe.com)[7]. At the point of distribution, the pamphlet exists in a state of deferral. There is no guarantee that it will reach its audience, or even that it will be read at all, but through critical distribution, the information is placed in the context of its use and poised to re-establish and further the network of connections behind its creation and placement.

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[7] An earlier (June 2004) HIV prevention campaign by the same set of partnered organizations, 'Assumptions,' was even more controversial in terms of its use of public space. The imagery and text of the informational materials was highly provocative, with intimate photos of men and explicit tag lines. Significantly, 'Assumptions' was the first national public information campaign to specifically target gay men; however, it did this through the appropriation of common public space (transit advertising, outdoor billboards and posters, trash cans, street-side distribution) rather than confining itself to 'gay' spaces such as bars, bathhouses, and private clubs. Not only was the issue of HIV transmission reinforced as being a wider social problem, but the distribution of the campaign materials served to challenge assumptions about who gay men are and the lifestyles they lead (Think-Again.ca).

Circulation

Whereas distribution examines the pamphlet as it lies in wait, circulation takes off from the point at which it is picked up. Although health information may be encountered directly by an attentive public—by someone seeking information on symptoms and treatments of a known condition such as migraine or diabetes while waiting for a prescription to be filled, for example (Figures A26 and A27)—a parallel hand-to-hand circuit carries information pamphlets from the point of distribution among more or less interested parties to someone identified by these intermediaries as attentive. Pamphlets thrive on this "unintended audience: that is, the people to whom the publication found its way" (Adams and Barker 25), either anticipated or unanticipated by the publisher and distributor. This transfer of information may involve a professional relationship, such as a doctor passing pamphlets on to patients from their distribution points at a medical clinic. These patients may be the audience themselves, or they may in turn pass the pamphlets on to friends or family. Alternate circulation may also involve a personal relationship, as when pamphlets are passed from friend to friend, from parent to child, from teacher to student, or among neighbours. The 'sidewalk counselling' suggested by Life Cycle Books represents a form of secondary circulation; in fact, several of the pamphlets they produce seem designed specifically for such exchange, employing direct address and encouraging the recipient to reach out to someone affected (see "Hope and Healing," Figure A28 and "Is This Really Happening to Me?" Figure A22). In these movements, the pamphlet is both a conduit of (health) information, and a substitute for interpersonal exchange; rather than the doctor explaining the details of the patient's condition, or being available for

questions, s/he can apply a blanket response with a pamphlet. Similarly, rather than family members engaging in a conversation about sexuality, depression, or substance abuse, and uncovering their respective fears and concerns as well as the underlying reasons for the issue at hand, they can avoid discomfort by simply handing over a pamphlet and withdrawing. Information pamphlets are not dialogue, however, and offer only a limited substitute for the kind of exchange that facilitates real understanding. Information, in this format, is one-sided and unresponsive; at least until the movement of the pamphlet through the communications circuit reaches the point of revision[8]. But, the tone, language, and phrasing of health information pamphlets mimic dialogue and personal exchange; as well, literary strategies such as first-person accounts, narratives, and characterization encourage projection and recognition of the audience. To maximize this effect, and to reach otherwise disengaged audiences, health information pamphlets often employ unusual modes of print and unexpected locations to deliver their messages. Parrott comments on the use of *The Amazing Spiderman* comic books as a vehicle for information about health and social concerns: "In one issue, Spiderman discusses drug use and abuse with several teenage boys. In another, the main character promotes wearing helmets when cycling" (11). Through pamphlets and other information media, the connection between human agents is replaced by parasocial relationships—"although an audience member does not actually have an interpersonal relationship with a fictional

[8] The internet, increasingly the primary source of health information for large audiences, has a key advantage in its immediacy, timeliness, updates, and vast wealth of information and sites. Health information can also be found in forums, support groups, online ads, and unsolicited spam. However, this overwhelming volume of information is also the internet's major disadvantage; the brief, salient points distilled into public information pamphlets are often more relevant and more useful to the audience. The brevity of a single pamphlet can be compensated by the production of a number of pamphlets on a range of nuanced topics, so better to match the individual to a specific body of information (see 'Distribution').

character, audience members often *feel* as though they have formed such social relationships" (Parrott 11, emphasis added). In this familiar and casual setting, the information is perceived as conversational, rather than didactic, and the audience may be more receptive than if navigating information in the context of an actual social relationship. Future development of health information print must draw more attention to two-way communication, in response to increased use of the internet as a primary source of information; the perennial interest of news media in health topics ensures a continued demand for information by the public and if printed materials are to survive they must be readily available and targeted to meet these needs (Nelson 55). To recapture something of the displaced social relationships, information pamphlets (among other media) could perhaps be regarded as part of an ongoing treatment regime, particularly before and after direct contact with the physician (Morahan-Martin 505). In this manner, pamphlets can become an integral link in the perception of 'partnership' between doctor and patient, overcoming some of the shifting in roles and conflicts of power that have arisen in the medical establishment.

The idea of valuation also plays a significant role in the circulation of public information pamphlets. These belong to the category of 'freeprint,' which in my use, derived from James Raven's conception of "substantial, yet unsolicited publications" (2), refers to unsolicited publications produced for reasons of propaganda and philanthropy, in both commercial and non-commercial uses, and includes promotional material, gifts, advertising, lobbying, institutional knowledge, official and 'underground' political propaganda, and proselytizing—all of which underlie the production and distribution of information pamphlets. This cursory definition lays emphasis on the networks of textual

transmission: 'free' describes the distribution/access portion of the communications circuit. Although the audience or distributor may not have to pay for the printed materials, assuredly someone pays for it, somewhere. By way of public partnership, the 'Gay Men Play Safe' campaign produced by AIDS Vancouver in September 2005 was underwritten by a $562, 000 grant from the Public Health Agency of Canada[19]. Additionally, the design work was done on a pro bono basis by Canadian advertising firm Rethink (GayMenPlaySafe.com). Rethink, founded in 1999, had designed yet another campaign for AIDS Vancouver (the 'Arouse' campaign), as well as work for other Vancouver-area not-for-profit organizations. Rethink certainly draws nonmonetary benefit in terms of publicity, building reputation, and the firm's creative portfolio; furthermore, the public service work seems to play a role in their corporate policy and strategy for attracting young, socially-conscious designers (Rethink). In the same vein, though they do not pay monetarily for public information pamphlets, receivers of freeprint might face political or spiritual costs as they are "brought involuntarily into often lively and complex communications circuits (Raven 3). Raven comments further that "the distinction between material and ideological costs is paralleled by differences in valuation" (6), such that cheap (or free) materials are usually ideologically innocuous and not especially valued; most ephemeral print falls into this description. On the opposite side, highly dangerous ideological material is frequently assigned a high price in recognition of its social and political costs. The ideological component of this equation can easily be obscured, in a variant of fetishism, so that price alone is viewed as a mark of value. With

[19] This campaign was allocated a funding boost based on the success of the June 2004 'Assumptions' campaign, also produced by AIDS Vancouver in conjunction with a series of national partners and San Francisco Social Marketing firm Cabra Diseno. The 'Assumptions' campaign was offset by a grant of $450, 000 from Health Canada (Think-Again.ca).

these considerations, token payments, or signifiers thereof (i.e. a 'suggested price,' even when the print object is freely distributed) may artificially create a value and calm fears that "the freely given is the freely discarded" (Raven 17). To the same end, Solomon also comments that "it should be remembered that price sometimes carries with it the notion of value;" he illustrates with the example that "in some countries it has been found that it is easier to sell contraceptives for a small fee (not too high, so the product is not priced out of the reach of the target audience) than to give [them] away for free" (Solomon 92). The same strategy seems to be in operation among a number of the sample pamphlets collected in my archive. One large document published by the Society of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists of Canada, *Sex Sense: Canadian Contraception Guide* (Figure A5), is an interesting text on many levels. It classifies as a book in terms of size and format (it is 154 pp., bound in paperback) and bears an ISBN as well as a clearly marked price of $12.95 CDN; however, in terms of content, publication by an organization, and distribution it falls in with other health information pamphlets. It is endorsed by a non-profit organization, Planned Parenthood of Canada, and seems aimed at teen sexual education classes, though the breadth and detail of its reference material recommends it to anyone interested in contraceptive information and evaluation. The price, however, is only one indicator of this text's market value. Though it is available for purchase from the Society of Obstetricians directly, and through large chain bookstores, it also has a secondary circulation through non-profit organizations who may purchase it at a bulk discount, and health centres (Sex Sense website). I obtained this, at no cost, through Peer Health Educators at the University of Alberta, taking it freely from the other stacks of information they distribute. Publication data indicates that *Sex Sense* is also distributed

through health clinics and field nurses, and that it is a reference in a number of other government information publications on sexuality and contraception. It had a very large press run of 100, 000, and was so successful that a second, updated, edition has since been released at the time of writing (March 2006) (Sex Sense website). This text clearly demonstrates the various interactions of the communications circuit, balancing questions of research, market, and design with the ethos of promoting and sharing information as widely and freely as possible; it also highlights the potential for individual texts to prompt new circuits through the creation of new texts, or new networks of circulation.

Readers

Whereas reading more or less constitutes the 'black box' of textual studies—a process of extraction, meaning making, and re-creation that can be theorized but remains highly subjective—'audience response' is a highly technical component of communications theory. It is telling that most public information pamphlets are written at too high a level for the general public, their style of language in fact inhibiting the communication that they are supposed to facilitate (Nelson 130). The prevailing mode of thought seems to be that audience stratification, with enough demographic variables in the mix, will reveal the particular needs of individuals across society, who can then be targeted in the most efficient and informative manner possible. Nelson comments that "the term 'tailoring'...has come to take on the meaning of using interactive technology to develop a custom-fit communication product," beyond earlier hit and miss uses that correspond more accurately to 'targeting' (68). Tailoring involves the construction of a text around

audience specifications, rather than aiming at a particular segment of potential readers with an already-existing text:

> Tailored print communication takes into account the attitudes, perceptions, and behaviors of the specific individuals...[These materials are] usually developed through computer-generated algorithms, and are increasingly delivered via electronic communication. There is some evidence that tailored print messages are more effective than generic print materials for health education and behavior change. (Nelson 129)

Arguably, this creates a far more dynamic range of print materials with a more diffuse strategy of engaging with the public, but it does not fully account for the ways in which these audiences, intended and, more significantly, unintended, actually encounter pamphlets and incorporate them into their everyday lives. I hope to discuss these issues at length in the next section; for purposes of the communications circuit, the ways in which organizations, writers, publishers, designers, and distributors view the end users of their print materials is more relevant.

Informational texts are not written primarily for entertainment or contemplation: they have the singular goal of communicating a message, a body of facts, or an argument to an audience in order to alter perception or influence behaviour. In this they must be considered mechanically, and their 'success' as a function of how smoothly their component parts run together. Nelson identifies among the factors involved in facilitating informed decision-making: audience factors (segmentation, literacy, numeracy, culture, language, preferred communication channels); information processing; and message development (47-8). Successful communication will determine the needs of the audience based on these, and respond accordingly. However, there are limits to how much

information can be processed: individuals select what they will attend to based on the apparent value of the material and on their own biases. The effectiveness of health information in reaching its audience is heavily dependent on the self-interest, motivation, and accessible resources of that audience. As Dervin observes:

> The research has shown that people inform themselves primarily at moments of need. Given needs, people rely first on their own cognitive resources. If these are not sufficient, they reach out first to sources closest to them or contacted on their habit paths. When they find useful information, they judge it not on its expertise or credibility, but rather in terms of how it helped them. They find it useful because they can put it to use. Only when it does not help do they focus on credibility and expertise of a source or message as explanations of why what was offered did not help. (Dervin 80)

In terms of navigating the text, readers simplify and look for shortcuts to rapidly come to a conclusion or make a decision. As such, the pamphlet has a very limited window of opportunity to plead its case, and a small visual field in which to lay out its approach. Nelson's strategies for engaging audiences in this brief moment are similar to those employed in effective design, helping to unite form and function: choose the most important and useful points to communicate; provide information that grabs attention, is clear, and requires little effort to extract; create 'comfort zones' and maintain an accessible tone by synthesizing key information in terms that have meaning and appeal to its key audience; and strengthen the audience's connection to the material by using emotional content and anecdotal evidence in order to communicate with low-involvement audiences (Nelson 52). These messages must not only attract attention, but also convey personal relevancy to the audience on an individual level, eliciting recognition of the self in the

scenarios offered by the text and mediated through its language and images. The reader must see some benefit in the information as presented, and by extension, some value in the pamphlet in order to attend to it; "campaign objectives must, in some way, appeal to the values and cost-benefits of individuals rather than abstract collective benefits...this lesson may be very useful, but it may also be the most philosophically disappointing point of much campaign research" (Rice and Atkin 10). Information is meaningless if readers don't derive some sort of personal value from it, and if they aren't made to care.

In order to create a sense of connection between the information presented and the reader, information pamphlets must try to bring their textual world as much in line with the everyday lived experiences of their audiences as possible. This is especially relevant when addressing minority, marginalized, or non-English speaking groups (which are typically major targets of information campaigns); indeed, the ability to move between groups and operate at a plurality of symbolic levels is one of the advantages of a decentered form such as the pamphlet. Communications theorists suggest using "culturally appropriate language" that is "directed to the most specific group(s), whenever possible: Mexican-Americans as opposed to Hispanics, for example" (Nelson 134). As well, they advise working with the community itself as much as possible: "When preparing...materials, advice from leaders of the appropriate group(s) or organization(s) can be invaluable" (Nelson 134). This can also be seen in terms of partnership between publishing organizations, or between the government and private or non-profit community groups. Verbal language and appeal must also be consistent with visual representations, not only to attract the attention of the audience, but also to assert the relevancy of the issue at hand. Pamphlets are often disregarded due to the inability of the

audience to recognize themselves in the profile of 'at-risk' populations: a picture can in this case act as a mirror. The visuals should also be well integrated into the text,

> relevant and tailored to the intended audience. There is increasing evidence on the effectiveness of tailoring messages to specific audiences by demographics or beliefs. For example, subtle cues such as developing visuals that match the sex, race, or ethnicity characteristics of the audience, may enhance the likelihood that audiences will attend to the message. (Nelson 156)[20]

The print materials produced and circulated to convey HIV prevention messages in the study of Bond et al provide an excellent illustration of tailoring information content and format to fit a targeted audience, in this case young women in a low-income, predominantly African-American urban community (289). The researchers developed a strategy of 'modeling,' communicating information with the goal of changing peer norms. The campaign materials portray the 'real-life' stories of women taken directly from the local community who have made successful behaviour changes, such that the subject and the targeted audience are the same. The pamphlets feature first-person narratives, laying emphasis on emotional, cognitive, and behavioral processes involved in changing risky behavior. Taken as a series, the narratives reflect women at different states of change; as the individual reader alters her own behavior or attitudes, she can progress through different pamphlets that reflect her altered circumstances. The credibility of the materials is enhanced by references to the surrounding community, acknowledgement of culturally

[20] There is a potentially rich subfield of public information pamphlets that have been translated into multiple languages and formats. Future study could compare the translations for shifts in meaning or emphasis, or examine the use of visuals that have been adapted, or left unchanged, for different audiences, as well as the distribution of print material in response to demographic change. In my collection, "I want the violence to stop!" (Figure A29), produced by Alberta Family and Social Services, has also been collected in 6 translations, including Punjabi and Vietnamese (uncatalogued here).

specific norms, and use of easily understandable language (Bond et al 289-90). The researchers reported an excellent response, with high rates of exposure to the materials themselves and familiarity with the narratives. Using the success of such a diffuse strategy of developing and distributing information pamphlets, as well as the innovations in form, as a contrast, Bond et al criticize the limitations of available print media in connecting to at-risk populations: "Typically, programs have had to use preexisting print materials that are intended for broad audiences and that lack cultural specificity...such materials often lack any reference to 'real-life' issues that affect a woman's ability to protect herself from HIV (e.g. gender, poverty, childbearing)" (Bond et al 289). In order to enter into the lives of its readers with actual effect, rather than just circulating around points of intersection, public information print must reflect and incorporate the terms of those lives. In this light, it is very difficult to consider information as a wholly unidirectional discourse; ideas of movement, provocation, and resistance undergird the processes the print object seeks to influence.

The issue of readership, especially conceived as intended audience or 'final holder' of the text, involves a question of deferral. Public information pamphlets are rarely sought out as an end in themselves; they are encountered indirectly, through other actors or in the course of other activities. As well, health information in particular often employs prevention or 'warning' messages not immediately connected to an individual's everyday life. The individual "must obtain the brochure, read it, and pay enough attention to comprehend and retain information that may or may not be personally relevant at the time" (Parrott 10). The omnipresence of the pamphlet form, which makes it recognizable to its potential audience, and which makes it a discrete object of analysis for our purposes,

can work against this retention. The specific information it contains may be new, but "the method of presentation is a highly familiar one: a lengthy and dry clinical exposition containing words that are not commonly used by most people" (Parrott 10). Alerted by these signifiers of 'official information', and "based on previous experience or observation, individuals form expectations about what health messages will say and where particular health messages will appear. These expectations provide people with the opportunity to think and behave in response to the content or the setting in an automatic fashion" (Parrott 13). Health practitioners are currently experimenting with form and style of message presentation, including the use of new media and innovative print forms in order to disrupt this recognition and defamiliarize the information; it seems likely that the pamphlet form itself will undergo a corresponding shift.

CHAPTER THREE

Ideological Conjuncture

Surveillance and the Scriptural System

Like all other networks of social and productive activity, the communications circuit occurs within a socio-economic conjuncture made up of the prevailing political, legal and religious ideologies—the 'big-I Ideology.' Public information pamphlets, unexamined in political or textual terms and opaque to the material processes involved in their construction, are heavily implicated by competing ideologies of power and knowledge. Health pamphlets are particularly complex, bound as they are in knotted discourses of disease and the body, of regulation, discipline, and control, and of the struggle between the individual and the state. James Raven comments that the "freedom to think might be more constricted than encouraged by mass commercial, political, and public information literature. The nurture of free thought (as well as the freedom to print) often remains a necessary check to the message and authority of 'free print'" (25). An inquiry into these ideological tangles will begin to reveal how pamphlets as text objects operate within the discourses of power bearing inward on them, and how readers encounter public information print and incorporate it into their everyday lives.

Michel de Certeau's study *The Practice of Everyday Life* examines certain mundane activities—reading, cooking, walking in the city—as instances of consumption, and through these the greater patterns of circulation, exchange, and social ordering. De

Certeau's approach is mainly Marxist, predicated on the concept that a relation (always social) determines its terms and not the reverse, and that each individual is a locus in which an incoherent and often contradictory plurality of such relational determinations interact. He characterizes these interactions through the silent insinuation of consumption; social and economic relations are not manifested in products themselves but in ways of *using* products (xii-xiii). In this light then, it is not the construction of a pamphlet as a text, or its function as a carrier of information that reveals its politics, but the context in which the reader encounters the pamphlet, and for what the reader uses it. The 'audience' of communications theory is here reconfigured as a *consumer* who may turn the text to whatever ends s/he sees fit: a pamphlet may be regarded as a handy reference guide or a precursor to a doctor consultation as intended, but it may equally be read to pass the time while waiting for a bus, circulated as a joke, used as notepaper, or used to line the bird's cage. The text of the pamphlet gains added meaning from its material form, and a pamphlet is really only definable as such in a particular physical state, but it seems that in terms of *use*, the materiality of the form can be separated from the words on the page. De Certeau refuses to transpose the relationship between production and consumption directly onto that of writing and reading—a link that locates the reader in the passive and voyeuristic role of recipient. Instead, he posits reading as an act of silent production, wherein the reader/consumer forms something wholly original out of the text in order to fit his/her particular needs and the demands of the situation in which s/he acts (xxi). This is the model followed by the most inventive and interesting research, in which the student draws on a range of sources and uses them as raw materials to express

something never before articulated, from a perspective unconsidered by the original authors.

In de Certeau's configuration, the text is less a transparent element through which ideas and admonitions flow freely than it is raw matter for construction and reconstruction. Language, especially unencumbered ordinary language, is the primary medium for this transformation and the field in which his analysis of everyday practice is played out. The Expert, in this arena, is merely an interpreter and translator of his competence for other fields; de Certeau uses the language of "conversion" to describe the transmission of such competence (in medicine, for a relevant example) into social authority (7). Successful transmission should be centered on an exchange of knowledge, such that the consumer/reader can take and use the expert's competence in his/her own terms. However, the reason why most public information is beyond the comprehension level of its intended audience is because the expert confuses his/her social *place* with technical *discourse*. In speaking 'as a doctor' or 'as a public health professional' the producers of information pamphlets commandeer these discourses and cloak the text in their perceived authority, rather than translating their knowledge into useable language; within this restrictive stance de Certeau asserts that "authority is indissociable from an 'abuse of knowledge'" (8). Professional jargon and the use of a detached, clinical tone are markers of medical literature, and draw boundaries around what Harold Adams Innis has termed "monopolies of knowledge." These "describe the way those in possession of scarce information technology hoard and wield the advantages it provides" (Levinson 12). The control of public health authorities over the terms of presentation and discussion in print, competing with other ways of knowing, such as news reports, political speeches,

internet postings, and even gossip, represents a osmotic tension between the flow of information—bolstered by the market value of the novel or innovative—and the attempts of expert authorities to seal off these permeable boundaries and reassert a knowledge monopoly.

Drawing from Wittgenstein's philosophical project of bringing words back from their metaphysical to their everyday use, de Certeau's study purports to "discuss language 'within' ordinary language, without being able 'to command a clear view' of it, without being able to see it from a distance" so as to "grasp it as an ensemble of practices in which one is implicated" (11-12), with primacy given to the speech act. The speech act, understood as a performative utterance, refers to a procedure "which articulate[s] actions in both the field of language and the network of social practices" (de Certeau 19). However, privilege has hitherto been given to solidified, transportable forms of text, favouring reified discourses over the speech act, which cannot be removed from its circumstances. ('Transportable' is perhaps better understood in terms of application or range of influence, rather than in the sense of physical movability, although motion and location do play a significant role in discursive power). With their reliance on the circumstances of their production, circulation, and use to be understandable, public information pamphlets can be allied with the speech act, against more elevated (and authoritative) forms of print, such as medical journals or government policies. Speech acts "indicate a social *historicity* in which systems of representation or processes of fabrication no longer appear only as normative frameworks but as *tools manipulated by users*" (de Certeau 21). Rather than embodying and enforcing this entire ideological framework, as the concept of 'authority' appears to do, speech acts in ordinary language and everyday

practices appear as internal manipulations of a system—of language or of the established order (de Certeau 24).

De Certeau further disrupts the place of language and reading within society by interrogating 'origin' in the act of writing, and by foregrounding action in practices of consumption. Much like the self-contained print object obscures its own relations of production and circulation—how, in effect, it comes to be where it is—the illusion of authorship "removes the traces of belonging to a network" and "camouflages the conditions of the production of discourse and its object" (44). This is especially relevant in the case of public information pamphlets, which as we have seen are generally produced by corporate authors, or written by a succession of contracted employees. These actors represent yet another set of relations, and are themselves involved in networks of production and consumption, or circuits of communication, not apparent in the role of 'author'. As part of a historical displacement of social relationships from direct (and oral) human interaction to interaction mediated by industrial capacity, printed matter, and, increasingly, electronic media, pamphlets are one indicator that "the origin is no longer what is narrated, but rather the multiform and murmuring activity of producing a text and producing society as a text" (de Certeau 134). The scriptural system, uniting writing and printing, and targeting monolithic and passive audiences, "is becoming self-moving and technocratic; it transforms the subjects that controlled it into operators of the writing machine that orders and uses them. A cybernetic society." (136). The eviscerated persona of the 'technocrat' exists only to maintain the flow of suspect expert language to the consumer, pre-empting the responsiveness and flow that are supposed to characterize the communications circuit; information takes the form of data rather than shared/translated

knowledge. Writing as a form of productive activity turns that language into a technical instrument (witness the rise of 'technical writing and editing' as a subcategory of literary occupation), a thing of blunt utility rather than a conduit of understanding, just as the pamphlet itself has turned into a campaign tool rather than a rallying cry. That same scriptural system, having taken over the language of its reproduction, turns towards the reproduction of society and social relations as a whole, with the continued corollary that although the public is resistant, it is *imprinted* by the text imposed upon it, becoming like what it receives (de Certeau 167).

As a mode of engagement characterized by abstraction, replication, and segmentation, modernity is manifested through writing: "The generalization of writing has in fact brought about the replacement of custom by abstract law, the substitution of the State for traditional authorities, and the disintegration of the group to the advantage of the individual" (de Certeau 168). Speech, dialogue, and exchange, however, linger on in the unspoken citationality of written texts, though the scriptural system may come to efface its own original translators; "[f]rom the child to the scientist, reading is preceded and made possible by oral communication, which constitutes the multifarious 'authority' that texts almost never cite" (de Certeau 168). These traces are very apparent in the case of health information pamphlets, which attempt to both mimic and substitute for the doctor-patient relationship. In tone—confidential yet commanding—and in subject—one's problematic body and the problematic activities one does with that body—pamphlets are predicated on an understanding of the parameters of that distant relationship. It is not a relationship of equals; social hierarchization, and the power accorded to the expert on the basis of the knowledge in his/her control, seek to make the

reader conform to the information distributed by an authoritative, and hence elite, body. De Certeau's reconsideration of the practice of reading as an act of constructive consumption offers a way to subvert this totalizing impulse. When reading is an act of re-creation rather than repetition, of breaking down text and *using* it to assemble an understanding of one's immediate context, writing loses its power to inscribe its audience. The scriptural system is seen to be fallible, lacking the fixity and reliability upon which its presumed order rests.

The scriptural system examined by de Certeau operates on the same conceptual level as Foucault's disciplinary mechanism. The displacement of interactive social relationships by the advent of written text parallels the atomization of individuals described by Foucault, both of which take place in the shadow of a centralized authority. The design and layout of printed public texts, as well as the separation of a vast population into 'audiences' by way of segmented demographic units, echo the manipulation of physical space as a means of enacting power. The disciplinary

> machinery works space in a much more flexible and detailed way. It does this first of all on the principle of elementary location or *partitioning*. Each individual has his own place; and each place its individual. Avoid distribution in groups; break up collective dispositions; analyse confused, massive, or transient pluralities. Disciplinary space tends to be divided into as many sections as there are bodies or elements to be distributed. (Foucault, Discipline 143)

This space, administrative and political, was gradually "articulated upon" the therapeutic practices of medicine; it enumerated and particularized individual bodies, diseases, symptoms, lives and deaths. "Out of discipline," Foucault writes, "a medically useful space was born" (Discipline 144). Central to the idea of disciplinary power is the image of the

panopticon, the towering edifice surveying each individual in his/her cell with an impenetrable gaze. The panopticon, rendering the subjects within its scope *knowable* and therefore governable, is distinct from architectures of punishment, or even from reactive methods of treatment. It pre-empts these, acting on the microlevel and maintaining a power structure based on carefully managed tension and uncertainty: the panopticon

> must be understood as a generalizable model of functioning, a way of defining power relations in terms of the everyday life of men. [...] It is a type of location of bodies in space, of distribution of individuals in relation to one another, of hierarchical organization, of disposition of centres and channels of power, of definition of the instruments and modes of intervention of power. (Foucault, Discipline 205)

Public communications campaigns are built around such strategies of intervention, emanating from a far-seeing central authority and targeting disparate and unruly individual bodies. The concept of 'biopower' is useful in characterizing the techniques used to subjugate bodies and control populations through, among other things, the practices of public health, regulation of heredity, and risk management, as well as behaviours more distant from literal physical health. Wielding a mass of statistics in order to reveal not only the position of the individual subject but also his particular 'risks' and 'problems', the authority directs a stream of information at the subject. This information both regulates the problem, preventing the need for more costly and intrusive treatment later on (the public health equivalent of coercive punishment), and keeps the uncertain subject in thrall to the expertise of the authority to know what s/he cannot about his/her own body.

'Information' exists within a limited historical timeframe; context and relevance are necessary for it to have any utility, and hence any value to persuade or to prompt action. As such, which issues appear on the public agenda, as well as which framings direct behaviour in the guise of 'information', are determined by the struggles of discursive power. Dervin's 'sense-making' approach to communications campaigns seeks to overturn the domination of one authoritative medical discourse over other, disparate ways of knowing and incorporating information into people's lives. Dervin astutely notes that "whatever one group of individuals calls 'information' or 'knowledge' at any given point in time is applicable only to that time and space and to the self-interests and observing capacities of the 'observers'" (70). Power decides which 'observations' are privileged, subjugating others to marginal outlets and disabling them through limited resources or media space. Shaped by politics of definition and agenda, "knowledges are tied to power structures and...knowledges serve to reify and maintain those structures" (71). Each time a piece of information is stated it adds to the discursive weight of the dominant political structure; it reinforces the expert authority, who can point to the body of evidence to support his/her position, and, by referring back to a previous chain of assertions, the stated information takes on a greater measure of authority and persuasive power itself.

The weight of this authority has great potential for misuse: old data, questionable sources, and decontextualized points invoke the power of expertise, but they may also engender suspicion of authoritative bodies. The 'medical' pamphlets produced by Life Cycle Books strategically use outdated information to add credibility to an anti-contraceptive argument. "Condom Sense" (Figure A30), published in 2003 and

collected in Edmonton in 2005, cites a source on HIV transmission from 1987, meaning at the time of circulation, the information was eighteen years out of date. "The Morning After Pill" (Figure A24), also published in 2003, relies on information from as early as 1990, despite major developments in the composition and administration of the drug as well as ongoing clinical trials for what is more widely termed 'emergency contraception.' The reference book *Sex Sense* produced by the Society of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists of Canada, 2000 (Figure A5), flatly contradicts the information on contraceptive failure rates, use, and side effects provided by Life Cycle Books. Other pamphlets with medical claims, such as "Choices and Consequences: The Facts About STDs" (Figure A31) and "Breast Cancer and Abortion" (Figure A32), contain no citations whatsoever. Such misleading and false information strongly hurts the credibility of the publishers from a critical point of view, but to a reader with limited access to other resources or without motivation to compare and confirm, medical claims may seem like straightforward fact.

Information—even privileged, powerful information—remains merely persuasive and not coercive, however: it cannot compel action, or even guarantee an attentive audience. Although members of the medical establishment are in a position powerful enough to name and define the issues that garner the most attention, and thereby place *their* information backed up by *their* authority most advantageously, that information is subject to evaluation and incorporation by active recipients, whose everyday lives and version of reality may not correspond to those of health officials. Dervin illustrates this relationship of authority and resistance:

> [Discursive] power can produce the accepted definings and orderings of reality. It can try to demand that women have breast cancer checkups. It can severely restrain the individual's capacity to create or have access to alternative orderings. But such power *cannot* make women attend to the messages or force them to the doctor's office. And, once women are at the doctor's office, such power cannot command compliance. (Dervin 72)

She offers two models of information. The first, "information-as-description," takes a positivist stance and assumes that information has a truth value, has a known and testable relationship with reality, and can be separated from observers; this model is strongly critiqued in her argument for sense-making, and is incongruent with the above discussion of value ordered by competing discourses, and meaning as constructed by reader/consumers. Dervin moves towards the second "information-as-construction," which assumes that information is created by human observers, is inherently a product of human self-interest, and can never be separated from the observers who created it (69-72). Both models characterize the audience as "bad guys' who are hard to reach, obstinate, and recalcitrant" (73). Dervin proposes reconfiguring communications campaigns from the perspective of the authority, who should regard the audience as a partner in achieving health goals, and modify the tone of information materials accordingly. However, from the perspective of the materials themselves, and the relationships that they both create and obscure, I find it more interesting to consider how power structures shape the movements of the text, and how the texts are encountered and incorporated by those obstinate audiences. Their resistance to passive information transfer is the driving force of the popular and shifting form of the public information pamphlet.

Strategies and Tactics

In *The Practice of Everyday Life*, de Certeau has set out a topographic and operational analysis of writing and reading that captures the vaguely hostile relationship between authoritative sources of information and the audiences they seek to draw in. His critique is based around two central propositions (also built upon by Roger Chartier in his work on readers): that reading is never totally constrained and it cannot be recursively deduced from the texts to which it is applied; and that "the tactics of readers, infiltrating the 'special space' (*lieu propre*) produced by the strategies of writing, obey certain rules, logics, and models" (Chartier 57). De Certeau figures reader/consumers as "interpretive communities" (qtd. in Chartier 57) in the course of his project of detecting how material forms affect meaning and of locating social differences more in real practices than in the statistical distributions that create 'audiences'. He argues that we must analyze a representation not by its presence and circulation, but by its manipulation by users who are not its makers. The difference and similarity between the production of a text and the secondary production of its consumers is hidden in its utilization. Within this network of possible applications and interpretations, "ways of operating" constitute those practices through which users "reappropriate the space organized by techniques of sociocultural production" (de Certeau xiv). These users represent clandestine forms of dispersed, tactical, and makeshift creativity already enmeshed in structures of discipline. De Certeau's language of force and resistance, strategy and tactics, invokes a martial metaphor already made explicit in Foucault's comments, echoing and responding to

Clausewitz's aphorism that "war is not an independent phenomenon, but the continuation of politics by other means" (Clausewitz 5):

> It may be that war as strategy is a continuation of politics. But it must not be forgotten that 'politics' has been conceived of as a continuation, if not exactly and directly of war, at least of the military model as a fundamental means of preventing civil disorder. Politics [is] a technique of internal peace and order. [...] If there is a politics-war series that passes through strategy, there is an army-politics series that passes through tactics. (Foucault, Discipline 168)

De Certeau's operational response is further prompted by Foucault's observation that "[d]isciplinary power has as its correlative an individuality that is not only analytical and 'cellular,' but also natural and 'organic'" (Foucault, Discipline 156). De Certeau identifies these as networks of "antidiscipline" (xv).

Both *strategy* and *tactic* are the subjects of nuanced definitions in de Certeau's analysis. A strategy is "the calculus of force-relationships which becomes possible when a subject of will and power...can be isolated from an 'environment.'" The strategy assumes a "*proper*" place and can thus "serve as the basis for generating relations with an exterior distinct from it" (i.e. 'objects' of research) (de Certeau xix, emphasis in original). A tactic is "a calculus which cannot count on a 'proper' (a spatial or institutional localization), nor thus on a borderline distinguishing the other as a visible totality. The place of a tactic belongs to the other...because it does not have a place, a tactic depends on time" (de Certeau xix). To elaborate, strategies represent the calculation and manipulation of power relationships made possible as soon as a 'subject' with will and power can be isolated from the social networks in which s/he is implicated. Every strategic rationalization seeks first to isolate its own place, that of power and will, from its

environment; strategies privilege spatial relationships, hoping that the establishment of place will resist the erosion of time. Overarching institutions and structurally powerful bodies—such as the medical establishment, professional organizations, the military, and the state apparatus in general—tend to act strategically. To counter, tactics represent calculated actions determined by the absence of a central locus. They rest on a clever utilization of time, its opportunities, and the sense of play it introduces into the foundations of power (de Certeau 35-9). By introducing the subversive elements of fragments and lucky strikes into the meticulously planned orchestrations of strategies, de Certeau marks the difference between "the tentative moves, pragmatic ruses, and successive *tactics* that mark the stages of practical investigation, and, on the other hand, the *strategic* representations offered to the public as the product of these operations" (de Certeau xxiii). The question is one of engagement versus obscurantism: "[tactics] show the extent to which intelligence is inseparable from the everyday struggles and pleasures that it articulates. Strategies, in contrast, conceal beneath objective calculations their connection with the power that sustains them from within the stronghold of its own 'proper' place or institution" (de Certeau xx).

The stability of meaning offered by strategic deployments of language provides only a false security; tactical measures overtake the prescribed meanings and find ways of fitting them to a divergent lived experience. In line with his critique of the expert, de Certeau argues that scientific language has opened up a gap between artificial and regulated operations and the modes of speech of social groups, where such battles and compromises take place (6). Though the line delimiting scientific discourse is not absolute, it maintains a strategic stance in its struggle to increase the influence of artificial

techniques on social practices, continuing to rely on its accumulated authority rather than adopt/appropriate popular tactics in order to engage intended audiences on their own terms. Thus, the translation in discourse between medical journal and health pamphlet remains stilted and imperfect. As produced and disseminated by non-profit and community groups, public information pamphlets are a concrete example of "the subtle, stubborn, resistant activity of groups which, since they lack their own space, have to get along in a network of already established forces and representations" (de Certeau 18). This characterization also applies, although in a more problematic way, to pamphlets produced as part of a state-funded information campaign. The campaign itself is strategic, naming and defining a particular problem, assembling a range of media, deploying a set of empirical information, and targeting carefully delineated audiences. However, the pamphlet remains a tactical form of text object: its publication and distribution can be controlled, but its subsequent circulation and the uses it is ultimately put to by its readers are wildly unpredictable. The chance of the encounter, the ephemerality of the form, the dislocation of the text whose 'proper place' is nonexistent—or, rather, its 'place' is in a state of motion—these are markers of the tactic. The effect is something like state-sponsored guerilla fighters, or trained attack squads developed within the structures of a traditional landed army. Though they may provide direct and sudden response to an opponent's actions, such tactical forces are also highly volatile and may ultimately turn against the strategic power that employs them.

Although the terms 'strategic' and 'tactical' invoke a vertical model of power, like that of 'dominance' and 'resistance' orienting discourse theory, we must also examine the horizontal connections between actors and ideological climate that affect their

circulation, if we are to consider health information pamphlets as tactical text objects. De Certeau asserts that we must clarify operations not on their relationship to the overarching system of power, or the prevailing order, but on the basis of the power relationships that define the networks in which they are inscribed and delimit the circumstances from which they can profit. In the absence of a totalizing system of power, he regards society as composed of foregrounded practices organizing its normative institutions, as well as countless other practices that remain minor. How do we consider *other* procedures, those that have not been privileged by history, those without their own proper place, but those that have nevertheless been active in the spaces of established technological networks (48-9)?

Capturing the sidelights of social behaviour and practical understanding requires a nuanced awareness of the unpredictability of human activity, and of the overdetermined relationships of production and consumption. The positivist model dominating current communications study is primarily concerned with statistics, and satisfied with classifying and tabulating discrete 'units' of exchange and measuring internal understanding by way of visible 'outputs.' It "can grasp only the material used by consumer practices—a material which is obviously imposed on everyone by production—and not the *formality* proper to these practices, their...'movement,' that is, the very activity of 'making do'" (de Certeau 34-5). Within this field of practice, tactics lack the ability of strategies to choose among a repertory of practices and rules. They lack the breadth of this "strategic intention": tactics have no choice among several possibilities, no chance to introduce correctives, and no predictive abilities—they have only assumptions based on what has happened in the past (de Certeau 56). In terms of tactics, one can

speak more effectively of a pamphlet's "trajectory" (de Certeau 35), conditioned by the temporal element, set in motion by forces beyond its control, and tracing its circulation through a diachronic succession of points. These highlight its alteration by consumers at each point who spit out a reconstructed text for the next.

Such a mutable trajectory eludes the intention of those who discharge the text, and subverts the presumed hierarchy of information given from above: "[i]n the technocratically constructed, written, and functionalized space in which the consumers move about, their trajectories form unforeseeable sentences, partly unreadable paths across a space" (de Certeau xviii). The assumption of current communications study is that "to write is to produce the text; to read is to receive it from someone else without putting one's own mark on it, without remaking it" (de Certeau 169). But the pamphlet, encountered at random in the city, put to unforeseen uses by unintended audiences, belies this simple delineation: "[i]n fact, to read is to wander through an imposed system (that of the text, analogous to the constructed order of the city or of a supermarket)." In this space, "'every reading modifies its object'...and 'one literature differs from another less by its text than by the way in which it is read...The reader takes neither *the* author's position, nor *an* author's position. He invents in text something different than what they 'intended'" (de Certeau 169, emphasis added). Amid this relationship, one cannot maintain the division between a readable text and the act of reading itself; text has meaning only through its readers—"[i]t becomes a text only in its relation to the exteriority of the reader" (de Certeau 170).

This mobility, and mutability, is to the advantage of the tactical text. It possesses the ability to adapt to its circumstances, and connect to its readership on the individual

level, and thus to be integrated into everyday life far more completely than the texts of strategic campaigning, which are regarded as suspicious agents of an ordering force. Chartier observes that "[r]eading is not only an abstract operation of the intellect; it puts the body into play and is inscribed within a particular space, in a relation to the self or to others" (50). The pamphlet is of the same space as its readers, and is recognized as belonging. But, it does not *define* the space, and as such is open to reconstruction. Reading is a characteristically detached practice: "The autonomy of the eye suspends the body's complicities with the text; it unmoors it from the scriptural place; it makes the written text an ob-ject and it increases the reader's possibilities of moving about...Emancipated from places, the reading body is freer in its movements" (de Certeau 176). In the hands of the reader, the text too is free to move about through new spaces and to be understood across multiple contexts—it constantly renews its challenge, and evades the order that would bring it into line.

Interpellation and Linguistic Strategies

Although I have described health information pamphlets as a tactical form of text, they are generally produced by governments and other organizations as part of complete campaign strategies ('strategies' here used with the full theoretical implications of the term). As such, the pamphlet is characterized as much by the rigorous use of data, images, and linguistic structures brought to bear by the producing organization as it is by the unpredictable trajectories of its circulation and consumption in the hands of readers. Pamphlets are largely written to a formula, evaluating a risk or issue in the population at

large, determining the appropriate measures, conveying these prescribed actions through a few key informational messages, and illustrating these bites of information appropriately. The variables—'appropriate' measures, 'prescribed' actions, and illustrations—allow pamphlets to be tailored to specific audiences, and to address the same issue at a variety of levels. The population is divided into groups, or "audienced" (Dervin 69), on the basis of demographic statistics, which are viewed as indicators of audience needs and capacities; what is 'appropriate' shifts along these lines.

This approach to writing is very dry and clinical: a set of statistics is not a readership, just as a verbal calculator is not much of an author. Within these parameters, language itself is treated empirically, as though the input of just the right combination of words by the producers will produce an effective output of action on the part of the audience. It is perhaps indicative that communications theorists such as Nelson point to another body, the Plain Action Network, as a model for bringing language in line with data, and for avoiding medical jargon in public communication. The terms of this organization offer a linguistic meta-strategy of 'plain English' under which other organizations can direct their health information strategies: 1) Use reader-oriented writing aimed at customers[21] and not other government employees; 2) Use natural expression, emulating as much as possible patterns of speech and writing with commonly-used words in the way they are ordinarily used; 3) Make the document visually appealing, presenting the text in a way that directs focus to the main points; 4) Use the active voice for readability, and incorporate vivid nouns and phrases, concrete examples and specific

[21] The reformulation of citizens as 'clients' or 'customers' accessing government services shows the influence of both the corporate model of business and advertising strategies on perceptions of the public domain, and public information more specifically.

recommendations, and maintain an instructional or an invitational tone (summarized in Nelson 134). Centrally, the writer must avoid ambiguous language, even in an attempt to be sensitive or politically correct, as the possibility of offense is far less detrimental to informational goals than the possibility of misunderstanding. The guidelines for plain language pamphlets have something in common with the structure of medical articles, whose "style consists of simple sentences unembellished by rhetoric or simile, and with a minimum of technical language" (Rousseau 188). Like a case study or factum, the style of the pamphlet "verges on the simple, *sans* flourish, allusion, or quotation. [...] Terms are not defined, nor are assumptions interrogated" (Rousseau 189).

As well as conveying its information clearly, the language of a pamphlet must also command the attention of its audience, and assert its relevance to the individual reader. By employing immediate and specific structures, writers of pamphlets adopt a strategy of directness in an attempt to fix the inconstant reader. Parrott defines verbal immediacy as "the degree of directness between a communicator and the objects or events about which he or she is communicating, as determined by pronoun choice, verb tense, object referents, and the context of language use" (16). It increases the producing organization's perceived ownership of an issue; "[n]onimmediate language communicates avoidance whereas immediate language communicates approachability, enhancing the attention given to issues" (Parrott 17). Immediacy involves space (using demonstratives such as 'this,' 'these,' and 'here' rather than 'that,' 'those,' and 'there'), time (using the present tense), and specificity. An explicit statement of agent, object, or action tends to personalize and simplify the informational message: "the listener does not have to consider whether or not the message is relevant because the message contains trigger words that state its

relevance" (Parrott 17). Furthermore, the message must be presented confidently, without qualifiers that could express uncertainty on the part of the producing body (Parrott 19), and damage the authoritative stance of its expertise. However, this is misleading; qualifiers offer a measure of semantic and legal protection for organizations working in less defined or proven areas of research and health promotion (i.e. drug research, HIV-AIDS transmission). Arguably, this streamlined approach to presentation works to support the discursive power of information-dispensing organizations—with debatable interpretations and dissenting opinions safely swept from view, they have the appearance of certainty and the assurance of order behind them.

The archived pamphlets "Choices and Consequences" (Figure A31) and "How at Risk are You?" (Figure A33), both published by Life Cycle Books, use strong, unambiguous language in a question and answer format to reject strategies other than abstinence in the prevention of sexually transmitted infection. This approach also disallows degrees of risk across different types of sexual activity, dismissing all forms of sexual behaviour as equally risky. The 'harm-reduction' or 'safer sex' approach common in medical literature is not referred to at all so as not to detract from the singular point of abstinence, or sex only in the context of "a faithful lifelong commitment (i.e. marriage)" ("Choices and Consequences"). The clarity of this point is certainly unambiguous; however, the focus on abstinence may limit the ability of those who have failed at that method to adequately protect themselves against STI transmission.

The linguistic strategies of pamphlets represent developments over time, modifications to the form of the textual object adopted to address the feedback response (or lack thereof) of readers on producers in the closing link of the communications circuit.

In appealing to their audiences in direct and immediate terms, these strategies demonstrate an attempt by information campaigners to insinuate themselves into the understandings and lived experiences of the consumer. Pamphlets strategically simulate the reader's space to camouflage their authoritative message while entering unpredictable territory. The effectiveness of this disguise may affect the ease with which the audience recognizes themselves in the text; however, it still cannot guarantee the uses to which they will put that text. In this, the pamphlet form represents the constant tension between strategy and tactic, the possibility of slippage between the two, and in microcosm the manner in which order and resistance are mutually implicated.

The reader's encounter with the pamphlet is vitally shaped by recognition: recognition of the pamphlet form circulating in the public sphere, and recognition of the self within the text. The 'Gay Men Play Safe' campaign is arresting because of its use of vivid, colourful, eroticized pictures of men; the images are the primary factor in attracting/repelling the potential audience. The pamphlets parlay this moment of pause into reflection by using inclusive language and developing a sense of community: a man, drawn in by the photos, is further implicated in the statement that "it was *our* safer sex efforts that had the most impact on bringing down new HIV infections" ("Whatever you call it..." emphasis added). Within this enclosed group, the pamphlet's message works on its audience's sense of community norms: by asserting that 3 of 4 gay men practice safer sex, cutting off the counter-perception that there has been a decline in condom, the statistic *becomes* the norm. The effectiveness of the text in addressing its audience clearly

and intimately builds on first mirroring those it appeals to and depends on the text being recognized as a part of the community it seeks to influence[22].

The phrasing of headings and the narrative presentation of information within pamphlets are designed to hail audiences, drawing them into the text and into the position of subject before the authority of the Expert. The construction of this imaginary relationship, much like the transformation of an individual reader into an 'audience' corresponds closely to Althusser's operation of interpellation (299-302). The individual, targeted by a strategic information campaign, called upon to recognize him/herself in a problem hitherto unknown, is always-already subject to the discursive power of the state or other professionalized organizations to define what is healthy and unhealthy, and to order his/her body and behaviours. Health information pamphlets are dominated by interrogative structures and commanding (or at least prescriptive) tones. Of the 219 pamphlets I have collected and archived, 35 use questions in their headlines[23], and virtually all incorporate questions and direct address within their text. These questions and the carefully chosen words of address, playing on the ingrained rules of language and exchange (i.e. a question implicates the questioned directly, and demands an answer of some kind as well as forcing some sort of recognition of the asker), "facilitate the reaction [to attend to the message] in audiences regardless of whether or not the core message content is novel or unexpected" (Parrott 15). Audiences often express annoyance with the inquisitive, even prying, tone of health information materials. However, the structure of the pamphlet seems to be designed to elicit feelings of anxiety in audiences, raising

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[22] The 'we' of this campaign is made even clearer in its French incarnation 'Nous Jouons Safe,' in which the French grammar explicitly unites the audience with the action of 'playing safe'.
[23] I am particularly fond of the frantic "Inattentive? Impulsive? Hyperactive?" (Figure A34).

destabilizing questions about conditions they may not have been aware of, and which may be overtaking their own bodies, equally unaware. One of the most significant barriers to the absorption and use of information is the inability of the audience to recognize themselves in the profile of 'at-risk' populations (Bond et al). Pamphlets balance this perceived distance between the audience and the problem with a level of protective anonymity. Those actively seeking information might be more willing to access sensitive and private materials via the mass circulation of print rather than making public inquiries or visits to a physician. The interrogative structure of pamphlets calls readers out of willful isolation, presenting them with unavoidable questions that may lead to undesired acknowledgements.

Bodies and Bodies of Text

At the centre of all the strategies of regulation and order attempted by public health authorities, hidden behind every print object adrift in the city, and prompting every inquiry and quest for assurance, is the individual, miserable, unfathomable human body. Within a disciplinary model of power and knowledge, the body is the site of encounter, the space on which relations of power are inscribed. It is also perhaps the paramount symbol of resistance, that which cannot be fully dominated by will or the desire to control. Foucault contends that "nothing is more material, physical, corporal than the exercise of power" (Power/Knowledge 57-8). As such, the machinations of power have become increasingly internalized, appealing to the perceptions and responses of the individual subject rather than clumsily applying the blunt instruments of enforcement; these

disciplinary regimes have given way to a "much looser form of control over the body" (Power/Knowledge 58). Power over the body, to secure it, improve it, and direct it, is inseparable from an intimate knowledge of the body's needs and functions; it is because of this somewhat fetishized connection that medical professionals and the health organizations encasing them have acceded to their expert status, and that public health can be seen as well within the domain of national government. If

> power is strong, this is because...it produces effects at the level of desire—and also at the level of knowledge. Far from preventing knowledge, power produces it. If it has been possible to constitute a knowledge of the body, this has been by way of an ensemble of military and educational disciplines. It was on the basis of power over the body that a physiological, organic knowledge of it became possible. (Foucault, Power/Knowledge 59)

The individual body also stands in relation to the social body, which is characterized in the same 'medico-administrative' terms. The population is "hedged in by a whole series of prescriptions relating not only to disease but to general forms of existence and behaviour (food and drink, sexuality and fecundity, clothing and the layout of living space)," (Foucault, Power/Knowledge 176), all of which are well covered by health information pamphlets. Discipline, manifested as both internal self-regulation, and as the careful arrangement of external space, is a "political anatomy of detail," turning the body from a source of resistance to a collection of capacities and aptitudes (Foucault, Discipline 139). The submergence of the body beneath such a productive apparatus remains incomplete, however. The bodily threats of disease and desire cling to the policies that posit individual machines guided by inputs and outputs, and animate the texts that unite these automatons into a social body.

The body as a locus for social anxiety is well reflected by the pamphlet, which has itself been a focus for the anxieties and hopes of print culture. Rather than existing merely as a conduit of information from a centre of authority to the dispersed masses, the pamphlet also serves as a medium through which the struggles between personal and public roles are folded back into print discourse (Halasz 44). In discussing nineteenth century instructional and medical print, out of which public health information as we now recognize it emerged, Anita Claire Fellman and Michael Fellman assert that advice literature, partly in the form of pamphlets, took the place of traditional ties and support bases such as church and family. The authors describe the figure of the "social orphan" looking for "individual and social blueprints" (Fellman and Fellman 239). Public discourse was gripped by the anxieties produced by rapid mobility and change, and dominated by sexuality as a symbol and focal point for those anxieties. Sexuality also stands as a primary space for enacting order, over both the individual and social body. Sexual behaviour, fantasies, and responsibilities are "potent metaphors for the conduct of life" (Fellman and Fellman 242). In the face of uniquely modern anxiety over the separation of functions (i.e. work and private life, the public domain and the family, sexual pleasure and reproduction), as well as concerns regarding disruption of these boundaries and insubordination from below (exemplified by, say, women's use of contraception with or without their doctors' or partners' approval), information and advice literature respond strategically by encouraging individuals to be as self-governing, functioning, and socially responsible as possible (Fellman and Fellman 240-1). The model for both physical and moral health and public order is a homeostatic one, describing a balance and direction of energy, in order to defuse the potential explosion of resistance brought on by the friction

of change. An avoidance of extremes and advocacy of moderation has been the general tone of public information print, an approach that continues in contemporary health pamphlets (Fellman and Fellman 246). The flexible centre allows for a fluid range of behaviour, while keeping within the prescriptions of "appropriate sociability" (Fellman and Fellman 251); stability is found in knowing clearly what cannot be done while slipping over the specifics of what can.

The two central examples carried throughout this thesis, the 'Gay Men Play Safe' campaign developed by AIDS Vancouver and the pro-life materials of Life Cycle Books represent strongly opposed aspects of the abstinence versus harm reduction debate in sex education. As we have seen, the ideological push for restriction, denial, and control have conditioned not only the composition of text and the presentation of information in the Life Cycle pamphlets, but also the circuits of distribution and targeted audiences. To counter, the message of choice, and community support evoked by the AIDS Vancouver materials underlies both the frank tone of the texts and the erotics of their design, as well as furthering a political agenda of visibility and acceptance. Pleasure itself, and the autonomy to seek and even demand that pleasure, represents the most volatile element of social and political reconfiguration. It encapsulates the changes in circumstance and attitude regarding social relations, and the desire on the part of authorities to reassert order over these while maintaining positional power. Pleasure lurks as the absent cause behind campaign prose, the subterranean target of all those questions and vaguely frightening scenarios; the sensual pleasure of what feels good always retains the possibility of overcoming disciplinary demands of denial and deferral and drives the impetus to disobey.

In his technical exposition of disciplinary practices—arrangement of space, observation, attempts to name and classify general rules, conditions, and mechanisms of operation—Foucault distinguishes "a political technology of the body over the elaboration of a body of doctrine" (de Certeau 46). The analysis of such a system, or of the power of scriptural authority, or of the movements of a very specific form of text, must begin with the observable. It is a "surgical operation," beginning at the furthest reaches of the system's practices and physical residues, and "*tracing it back through history, isolating* from the whole body the cancerous growth that has invaded it, and *explaining* its current functioning *by its genesis*" (de Certeau 47, emphasis in original). The lengthy historical development of both print and medicine between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries predicated the isolation of the individual from the social mass, like an element in a chemical formula: "A change in sociocultural axioms occurs when the unit referred to gradually ceases to be the body politic in order to become the individual body, and when the reign of a *juridical* politics begins to be replaced by the reign of a *medical* politics" (de Certeau 142). By this succession, Hobbes's Leviathan gives way to Bentham's scrutinized individual, who slips into Foucault's patient, who may find redemption as de Certeau's consumer. Strategically, power has been invested in the singular site of the body in an attempt to win mastery of the body and its operations; however, "[p]ower, after investing itself in the body, finds itself exposed to a counterattack in that same body" (Foucault, Power/Knowledge 56). The technology of printing can be read as an instance of this struggle. Printing is an articulation of text on the body through writing, removing communication from its physical processes and fixing it to a static and immutable form. "The order thought (the text conceived) produces itself as a body (books) which repeats it,

forming paving stones and paths, networks of rationality through the incoherence of the universe" (de Certeau 144). However, the separation of body and text forces its reappropriation, and consumption as something alien: the text "no longer manifests itself through the reader's voice. This withdrawal of the body, which is the condition of its autonomy, is a distancing of the text. It is the reader's *habeas corpus*" (de Certeau 176). Text abstracted from its bodies of origin—body of circumstances, organizational bodies, productive bodies, social bodies—contains only the absent voice of authority and none of the presence of its readers' everyday lives. Public information pamphlets, the most unruly of texts, the most disregarded of print, draw together body and text. It is the social body that hails the individual through the pamphlet, as it is the physical body that dominates its content. In health pamphlets, the body is the primary point of contact, lingering in the social processes that actively produce and circulate the text object from hand to hand, tangible in the print's very physical form, and animating the reader's recognition and use of both information and object. If we are to reclaim the absent body of text, we must try to capture its movement, its shape, and the pleasure of having the word in our grasp.

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Appendix A

This Appendix contains illustrations for all of the archived pamphlets referred to in the body of the thesis. Each Figure is taken from a screenshot of the relevant section digital archive, *Public Information Print*, and is captioned with the author/publisher, title of the text, and publication date (if known), as well as its corresponding reference number in the archive. The Appendix is intended to provide reference points and convenient visual aids for specific examples discussed; however, the digital archive will provide a more complete sense of the texts, as well as more detailed notes on production, distribution, and location. I encourage readers to make use of the site's browsing and searching capabilities at <http://www.crcstudio.arts.ualberta.ca/pip>.

The archive was created using the Streetprint Engine, a database model designed for web-based collections of popular print and ephemeral texts. The pamphlets were collected in Edmonton, between March 2004 and October 2005. Little formal procedure was followed in collection: I simply picked up any material I encountered in the course of everyday activities, noting the location. As well, I visited several local organizations and medical establishments already known to distribute public information materials, and I accepted print materials foisted upon me by friends and family. I did attempt to obtain materials from as many areas of the city as possible, as I considered location and demographics might have an impact on the type of materials in circulation. These

pamphlets were then catalogued by organization and title, and assigned an internal reference number. The physical texts were scanned onto computer using a Canon CanoScan LiDE 35 flatbed scanner. The digital images were optimized using Adobe Photoshop and uploaded into the database using a Macintosh Powerbook G4. The images were not altered in any way, other than sizing and minor improvements to image quality. I have scanned most pamphlets in their entirety, showing them both as they appear to readers and unfolded. In the case of longer texts, I have scanned the front and back covers, any copyright pages, and several sample pages. The physical pamphlets are currently filed and stored until a suitable form of preservation can be found.

Within the archive, the individual texts are searchable by Title, Author/Organization, Publisher, Location, Date, Document Type, and Category. 'Document Type' refers to the format of the pamphlet, based on size, dimension, binding, and material. This designation has allowed me to track pamphlets based on common paper sizes and layouts, as well as represent the multiple forms public information print can take. 'Category' refers to the content, theme, or issue of the pamphlet. These designations are somewhat generalized, and exist mainly to gauge what topics seem to generate the most attention, and to offer future researchers a less anlytical way to engage with the texts. Most pamphlets belong to several category types, and may also have multiple producers and distributors. Further notes may include ISBN numbers, alternate titles, other languages of printing, or other identifying marks or details.

Pages 115-119 contain images illustrating the extended example of the 'Gay Men Play Safe' campaign produced by AIDS Vancouver.

Pages 129-144 contain images illustrating the extended example of the publisher Life Cycle Books.

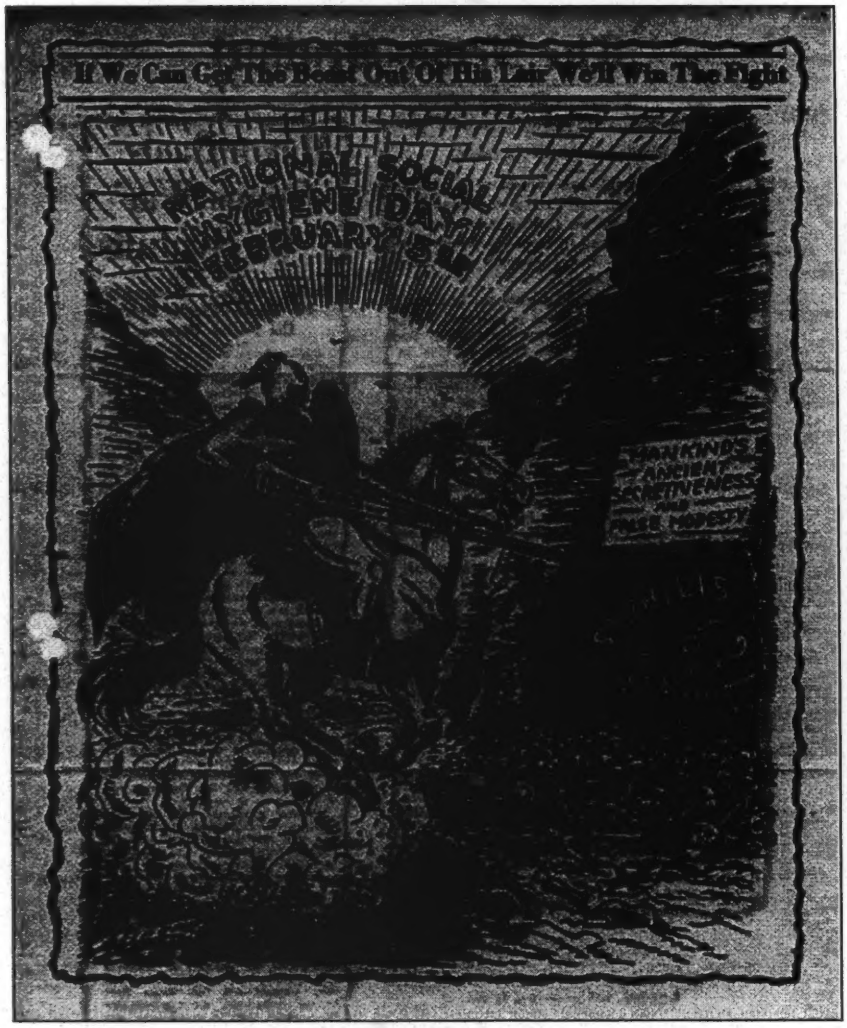

Figure A1
American Social Health Association, "If we can get the beast out of his lair"
1935

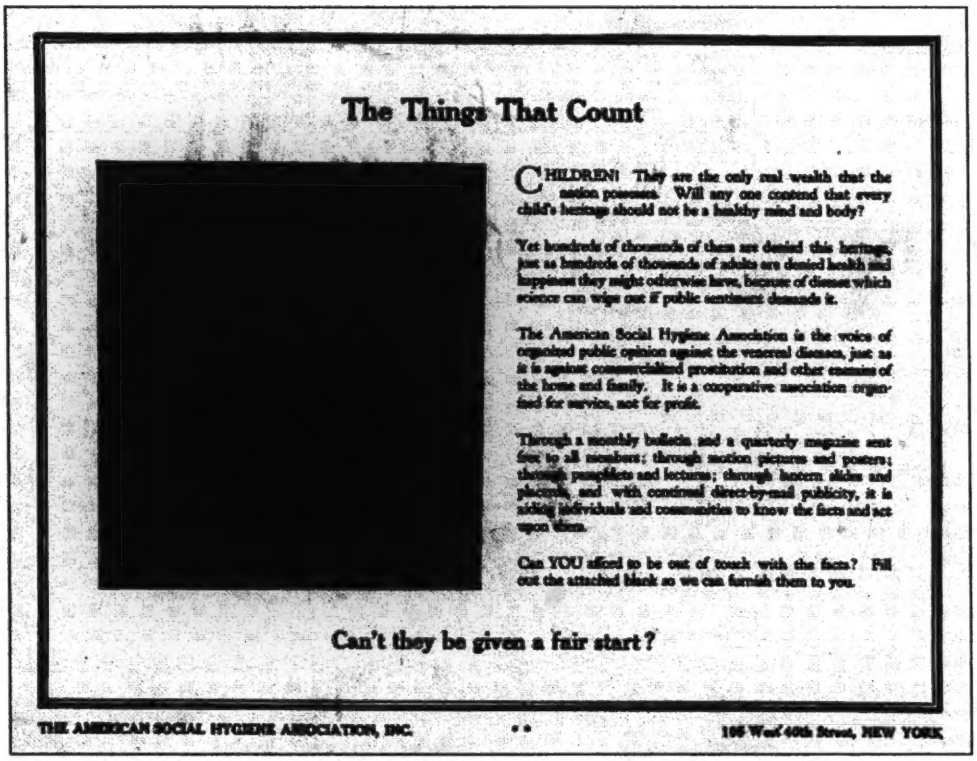
The Things That Count
CHILDREN! They are the only real wealth that the nation possesses. Will any one contend that every child's heritage should not be a healthy mind and body?
Yet hundreds of thousands of them are denied this heritage, just as hundreds of thousands of adults are denied health and happiness they might otherwise have, because of disease which science can wipe out if public sentiment demands it.
The American Social Hygiene Association is the voice of organized public opinion against the venereal diseases, just as it is against commercialized prostitution and other enemies of the home and family. It is a cooperative association organized for service, not for profit.
Through a monthly bulletin and a quarterly magazine sent free to all members; through motion pictures and posters; through pamphlets and lectures; through lantern slides and placards, and with continual direct-by-mail publicity, it is aiding individuals and communities to know the facts and act upon them.
Can YOU afford to be out of touch with the facts? Fill out the attached blank so we can furnish them to you.
Can't they be given a fair start?
THE AMERICAN SOCIAL HYGIENE ASSOCIATION, INC.
105 West 40th Street, NEW YORK

Figure A2
American Social Hygiene Association, "The Things That Count"
1937

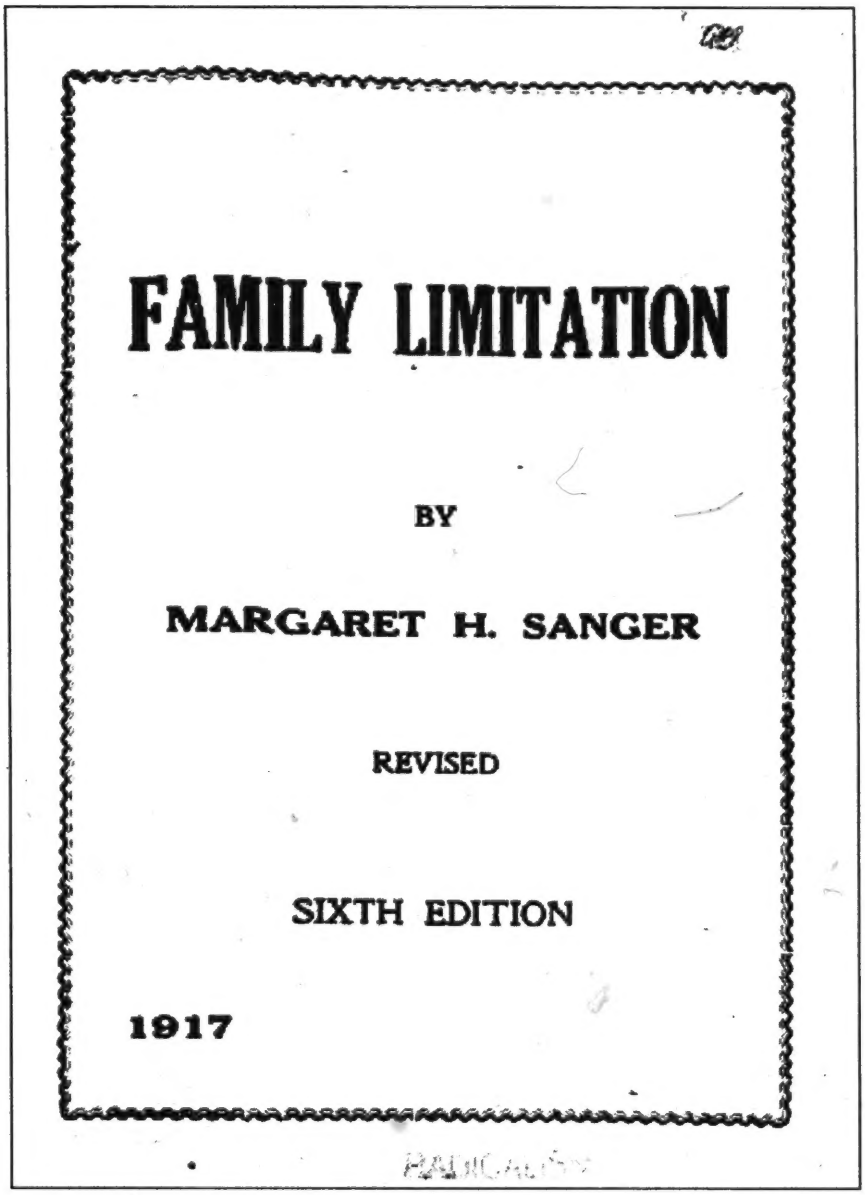

Figure A3
Margaret Sanger, *Family Limitation*
1917

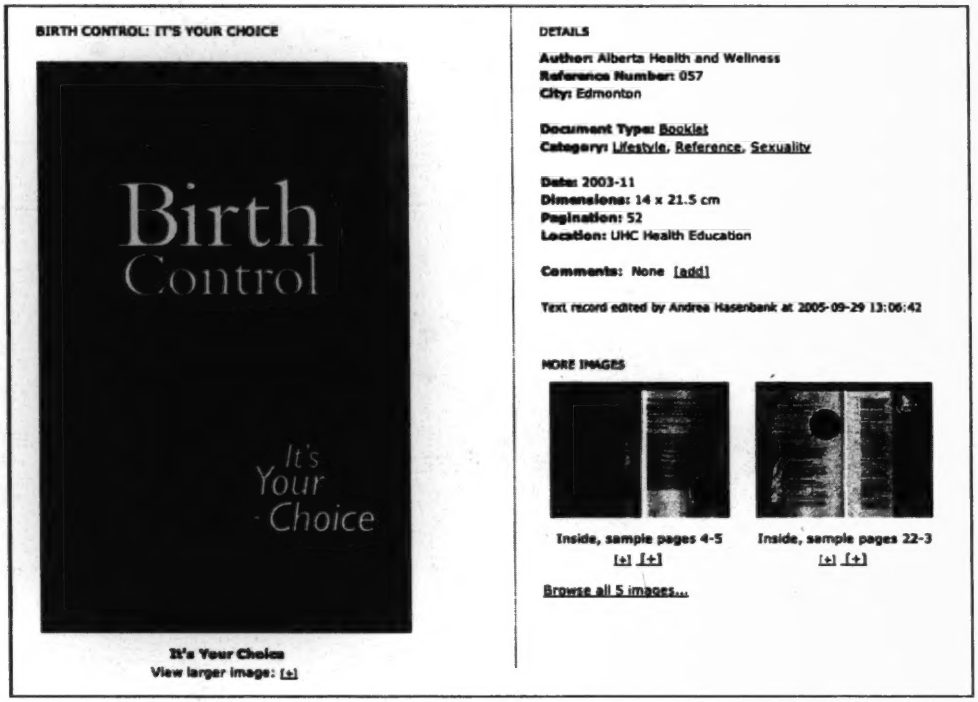

Figure A4
Alberta Health and Wellness, "Birth Control: It's Your Choice"
2003
ref. 057

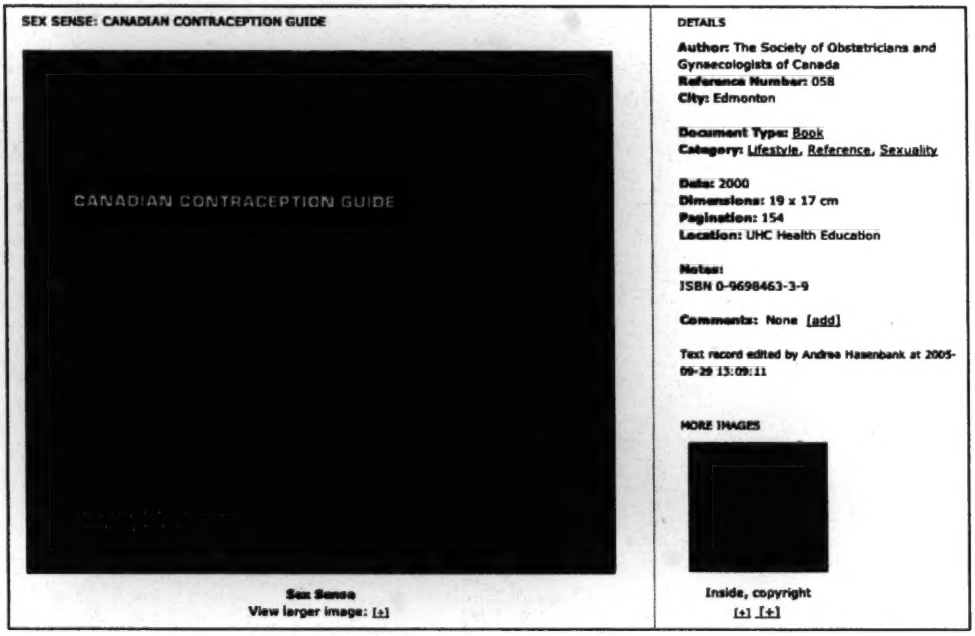

Figure A5
The Society of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists of Canada, *Sex Sense: Canadian Contraception Guide*
2000
ref. 058

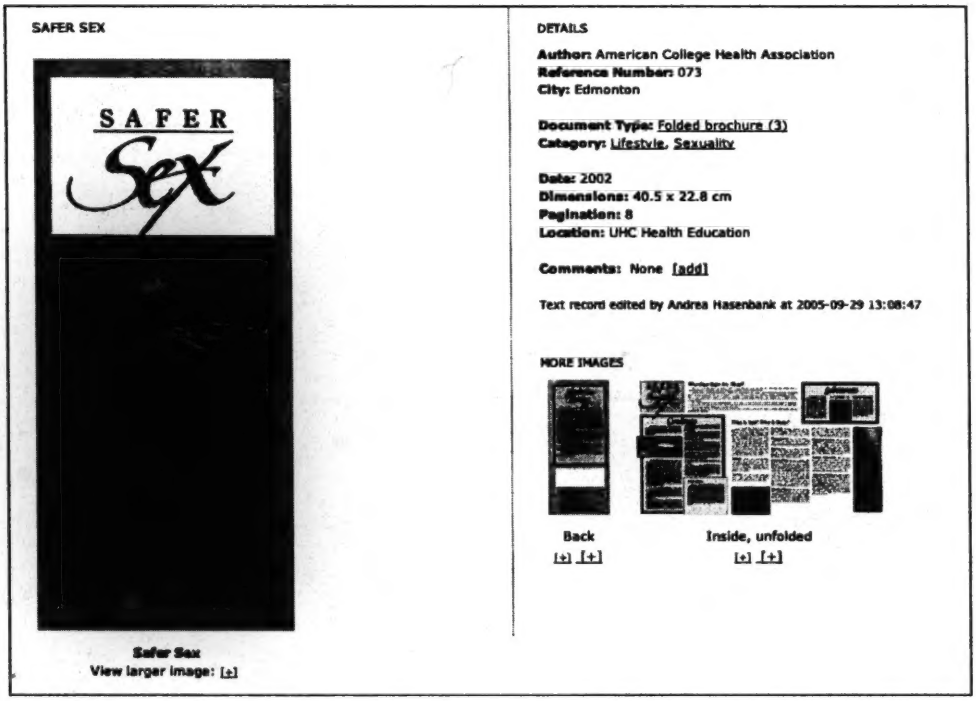

Figure A6
American College Health Association, "Safer Sex"
2002
ref. 073

RESPECT YOURSELF, PROTECT YOURSELF

Respect yourself

DETAILS

Author: Planned Parenthood
Reference Number: 127
City: Edmonton

Document Type: Folded brochure (4)
Category: Lifestyle, Prevention, Reference, Sexuality

Date: Unknown
Dimensions: 21.5 x 47.4 cm
Pagination: 2
Location: Castledowns Health Centre

Comments: None [add]

Text record edited by Andrea Hasenbank at 2005-10-10 16:15:24

MORE IMAGES

Front, unfolded
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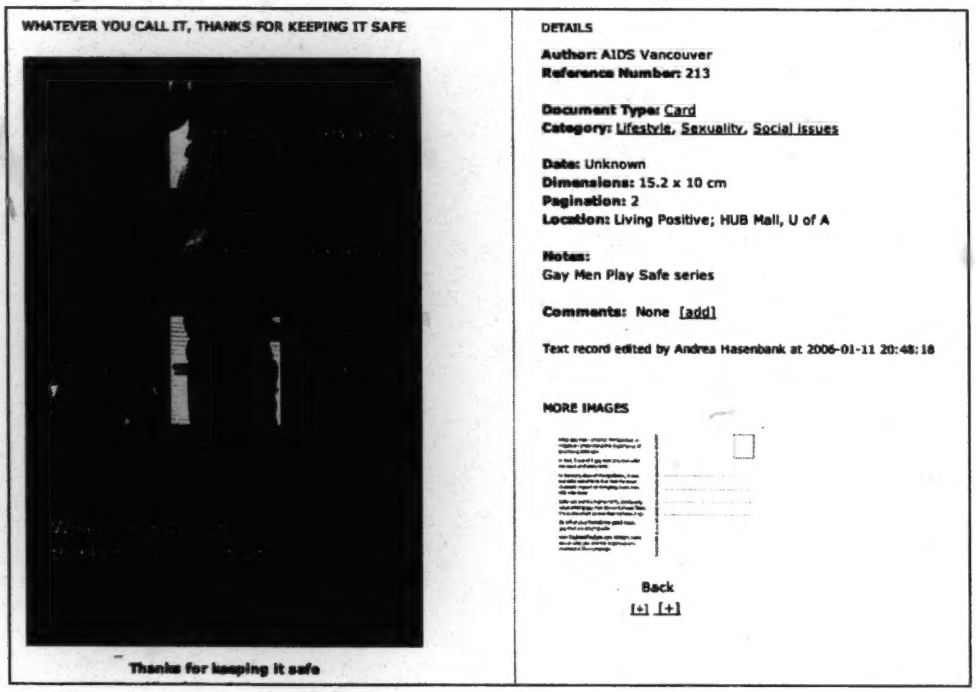
Back, unfolded
[+] [+]

Figure A7
Planned Parenthood, "Respect Yourself, Protect Yourself"
date unknown
ref. 12



WHATEVER YOU CALL IT, THANKS FOR KEEPING IT SAFE

Thanks for keeping it safe

DETAILS

Author: AIDS Vancouver
Reference Number: 213

Document Type: Card
Category: Lifestyle, Sexuality, Social issues

Date: Unknown
Dimensions: 15.2 x 10 cm
Pagination: 2
Location: Living Positive; HUB Mall, U of A

Notes:
Gay Men Play Safe series

Comments: None [add]

Text record edited by Andrea Hasenbank at 2006-01-11 20:48:18

MORE IMAGES

Back
[+] [+]

Figure A8
AIDS Vancouver, "Whatever you call it..."
2005
ref. 213

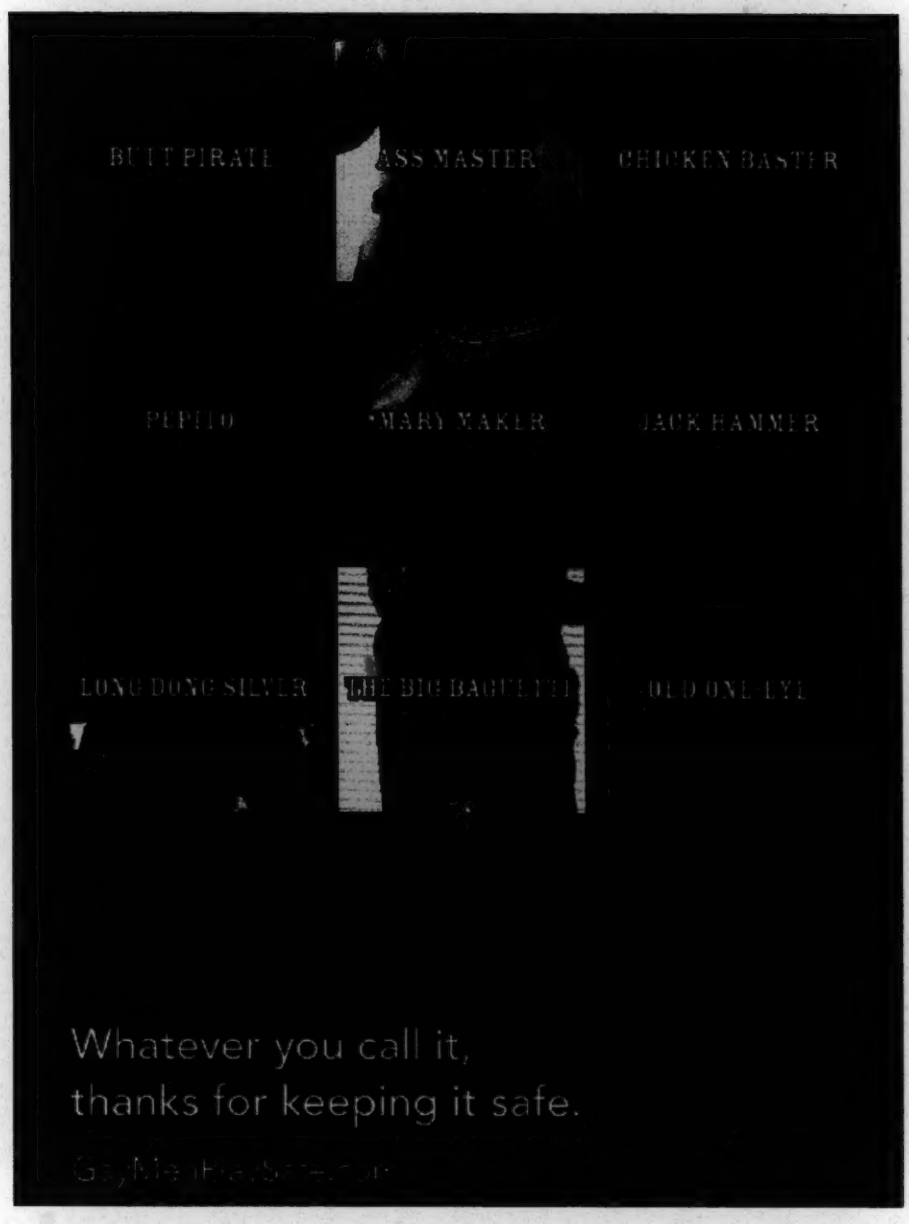


Figure A8 – detail

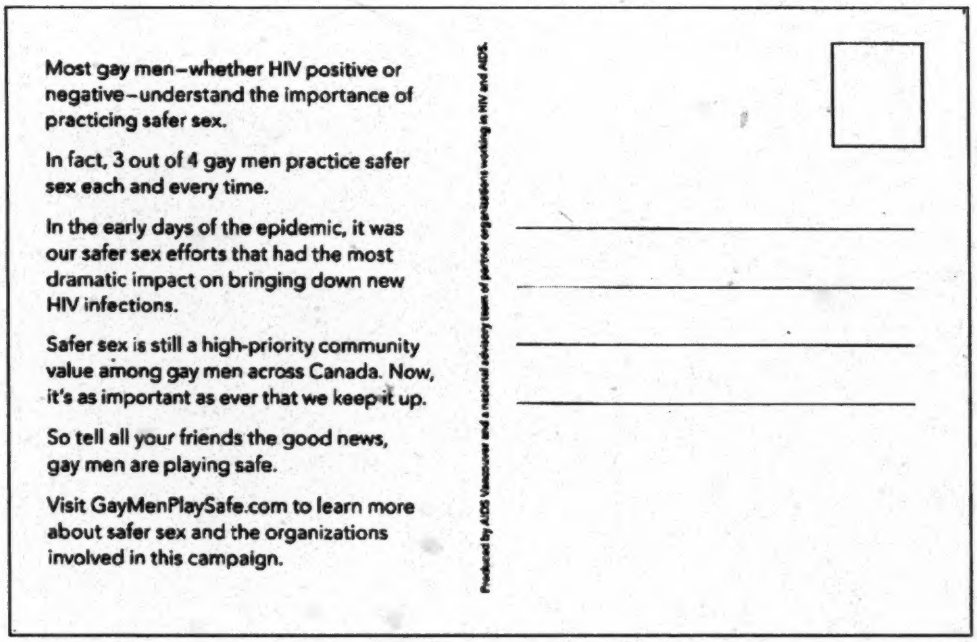
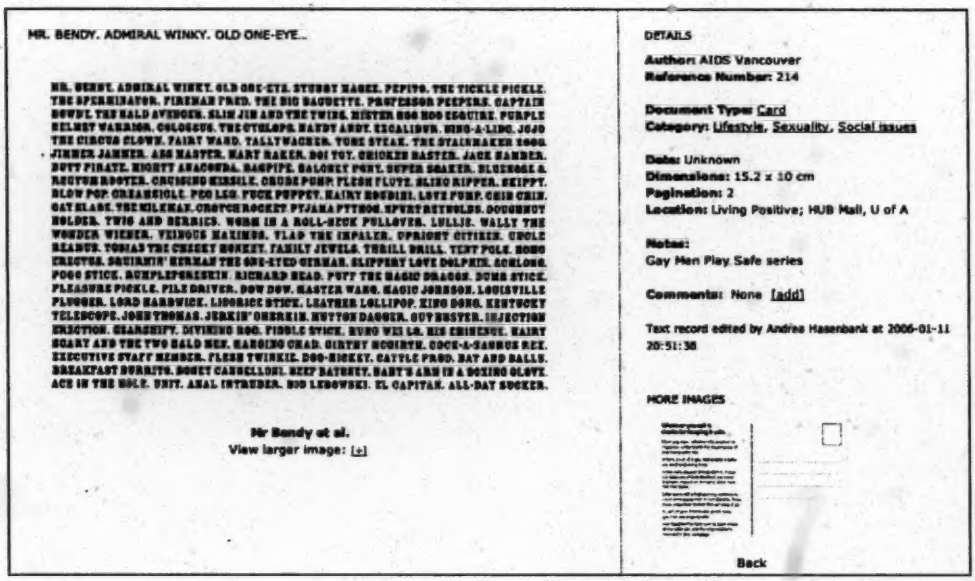

Most gay men–whether HIV positive or negative–understand the importance of practicing safer sex.
In fact, 3 out of 4 gay men practice safer sex each and every time.
In the early days of the epidemic, it was our safer sex efforts that had the most dramatic impact on bringing down new HIV infections.
Safer sex is still a high-priority community value among gay men across Canada. Now, it's as important as ever that we keep it up.
So tell all your friends the good news, gay men are playing safe.
Visit GayMenPlaySafe.com to learn more about safer sex and the organizations involved in this campaign.
Produced by AIDS Vancouver and a national advisory team of partner organizations working in HIV and AIDS.

Figure A8 – detail
postcard, reverse side



MR. BENDY. ADMIRAL WINKY. OLD ONE-EYE..

MR. BENDY. ADMIRAL WINKY. OLD ONE-EYE. STUBBY MAGEE. PEPITO. THE TICKLE PICKLE. THE SPERMINATOR. FIREMAN FRED. THE BIG BAGUETTE. PROFESSOR PEEPERS. CAPTAIN BOWDY. THE BALD AVENGER. SLIM JIM AND THE TWINS. MISTER HOO HOO ESQUIRE. PURPLE HELMET WARRIOR. COLOSSUS. THE CYCLOPS. HANDY ANDY. EXCALIBUR. HING-A-LING. JOJO THE CIRCUS CLOWN. FAIRY WAND. TALLYWACKER. TUBE STEAK. THE STAINBAKER 2000. JIMMER JAMMER. ASS MASTER. MART BAKER. DOI TOY. CHICKEN BASTER. JACK HANDER. BUTT PIRATE. MIGHTY ANACONDA. BAGPIPE. BALONEY PONY. SUPER SHAKER. BLUEBOOK B. ELECTER BOOTER. CHEESEBO BURRELL. CHUBS PUMP. FLESH FLUTE. RIKO RIPPER. SKIPPY. BLOW POP. CREAMSICLE. PEG LEG. FUCK PUPPET. HAIRY BOOBIES. LOVE PUMP. CHIB CHIB. CAT SLASH. THE MILKMAN. CROTCH ROCKET PYJAMA PYTHON. SPUNT REYNOLDS. DOUGHNUT HOLDER. TWIG AND BERRIES. WOMM IN A BOLL-NECK PULLOVER. LULLIE. WALLY THE WONDER WIENER. VENOUS MAXIMUS. TLAP THE IMPALER. UPRIGHT CITIZEN. UBOLE BEANUS. TOMAS THE CHEEKY MONKEY. FAMILY JEWELS. THRILL DRILL. TENT POLE. BOBO ERECTUS. SQUIRMIN' HERMAN THE ONE-EYED GERMAN. SLIPPERY LOVE DOLPHIN. SCROTOM. POGO STICK. DUMPLEFRESKIN. RICHARD HEAD. PUFF THE MAGIC DRAGON. DUMB STICK. PLEASURE PICKLE. PILE DRIVER. DOW DOW. MASTER WANG. MAGIC JOHNSON. LOUISVILLE PLUGGER. LORD HARDWICK. LICORICE STICK. LEATHER LOLLIPOP. KING DONG. KENTUCKY TELESCOPE. JOHN THOMAS. JERKIN' GHERKIN. HUTTON DAGGER. GUY BUSTER. INJECTION ERECTION. GEARSHIFT. DIVINING ROD. FIDDLE STICK. KUNG WEI LO. HIS ERIENDS. HAIRY SCARY AND THE TWO BALD MEN. HANGING CHAD. GIRTHY MCGIRTH. COCK-A-DANDUS REX. EXECUTIVE STAFF MEMBER. FLESH TWINKIE. DOG-SICKET. CATTLE PROD. BAT AND BALLS. BREAKFAST BURRITO. BONET CANNELLONI. BEEF BATERET. BABY'S ARM IS A BOXING GLOVE. ACE IN THE HOLE. UNIT. ANAL INTRUDER. BOB LEDOWSKI. EL CAPITAN. ALL-DAY SUCKER.

Mr Bendy et al.
View larger image: [+]

DETAILS

Author: AIDS Vancouver
Reference Number: 214

Document Type: Card
Category: Lifestyle, Sexuality, Social issues

Date: Unknown
Dimensions: 15.2 x 10 cm
Pagination: 2
Location: Living Positive; HUB Mall, U of A

Notes:
Gay Men Play Safe series

Comments: None [add]

Text record edited by Andree Hasenbank at 2006-01-11 20:51:38

MORE IMAGES

Back

Figure A9
AIDS Vancouver, "Mr. Bendy..."
2005
ref. 214

MR. BENDY. ADMIRAL WINKY. OLD ONE-EYE. STUBBY MAGEE. PEPITO. THE TICKLE PICKLE. THE SPERMINATOR. FIREMAN FRED. THE BIG BAGUETTE. PROFESSOR PEEPERS. CAPTAIN HOWDY. THE BALD AVENGER. SLIM JIM AND THE TWINS. MISTER HOO HOO ESQUIRE. PURPLE HELMET WARRIOR. COLOSSUS. THE CYCLOPS. HANDY ANDY. EXCALIBUR. DING-A-LING. JOJO THE CIRCUS CLOWN. FAIRY WAND. TALLYWACKER. TUBE STEAK. THE STAINMAKER 8000. JIMMER JAMMER. ASS MASTER. MARY MAKER. BOI TOY. CHICKEN BASTER. JACK HAMMER. BUTT PIRATE. MIGHTY ANACONDA. BAGPIPE. BALONEY PONY. SUPER SOAKER. BLUENOSE 8. RECTUM ROOTER. CRUISING MISSILE. CRUDE PUMP. FLESH FLUTE. SLING RIPPER. SKIPPY. BLOW POP. CREAMSICLE. PEG LEG. FUCK PUPPET. HAIRY HOUDINI. LOVE PUMP. CHIN CHIN. GAY BLADE. THE MILKMAN. CROTCH ROCKET. PYJAMA PYTHON. SPURT REYNOLDS. DOUGHNUT HOLDER. TWIG AND BERRIES. WORM IN A ROLL-NECK PULLOVER. LULLIE. WALLY THE WONDER WIENER. VEINOUS MAXIMUS. VLAD THE IMPALER. UPRIGHT CITIZEN. UNCLE REAMUS. TOBIAS THE CHEEKY MONKEY. FAMILY JEWELS. THRILL DRILL. TENT POLE. HOMO ERECTUS. SQUIRMIN' HERMAN THE ONE-EYED GERMAN. SLIPPERY LOVE DOLPHIN. SCHLONG. POGO STICK. RUMPLEFORESKIN. RICHARD HEAD. PUFF THE MAGIC DRAGON. DUMB STICK. PLEASURE PICKLE. PILE DRIVER. DOW DOW. MASTER WANG. MAGIC JOHNSON. LOUISVILLE PLUGGER. LORD HARDWICK. LICORICE STICK. LEATHER LOLLIPOP. KING DONG. KENTUCKY TELESCOPE. JOHN THOMAS. JERKIN' GHERKIN. MUTTON DAGGER. GUT BUSTER. INJECTION ERECTION. GEARSHIFT. DIVINING ROD. FIDDLE STICK. HUNG WEI LO. HIS EMINENCE. HAIRY SCARY AND THE TWO BALD MEN. HANGING CHAD. GIRTHY MCGIRTH. COCK-A-SAURUS REX. EXECUTIVE STAFF MEMBER. FLESH TWINKIE. DOO-HICKEY. CATTLE PROD. BAT AND BALLS. BREAKFAST BURRITO. BONEY CANNELLONI. BEEF BAYONET. BABY'S ARM IN A BOXING GLOVE. ACE IN THE HOLE. UNIT. ANAL INTRUDER. BIG LEBOWSKI. EL CAPITAN. ALL-DAY SUCKER.

Figure A9 - detail

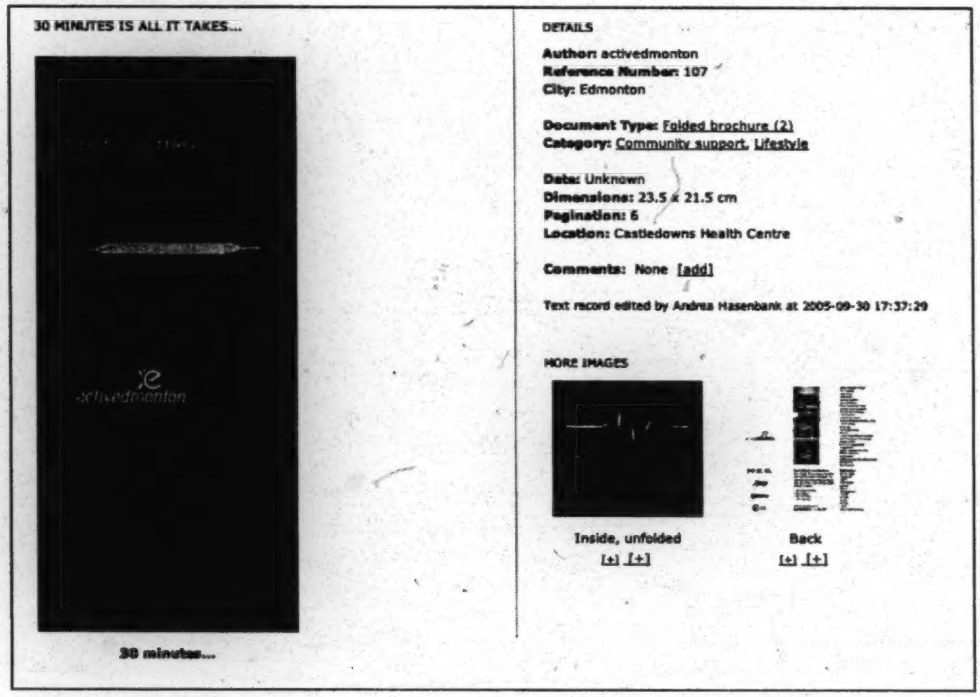


Figure A10
activedmonton, "30 Minutes is all it Takes"
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ref. 107

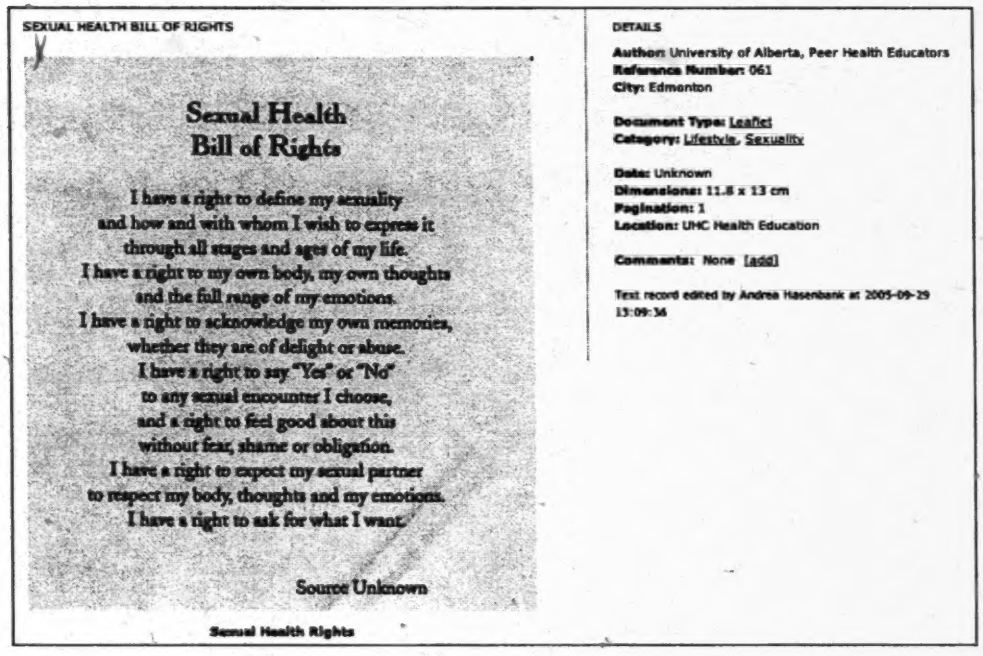
SEXUAL HEALTH BILL OF RIGHTS
Sexual Health
Bill of Rights
I have a right to define my sexuality
and how and with whom I wish to express it
through all stages and ages of my life.
I have a right to my own body, my own thoughts
and the full range of my emotions.
I have a right to acknowledge my own memories,
whether they are of delight or abuse.
I have a right to say "Yes" or "No"
to any sexual encounter I choose,
and a right to feel good about this
without fear, shame or obligation.
I have a right to expect my sexual partner
to respect my body, thoughts and my emotions.
I have a right to ask for what I want.
Source Unknown
Sexual Health Rights
DETAILS
Author: University of Alberta, Peer Health Educators
Reference Number: 061
City: Edmonton
Document Type: Leaflet
Category: Lifestyle, Sexuality
Date: Unknown
Dimensions: 11.8 x 13 cm
Pagination: 1
Location: UHC Health Education
Comments: None [add]
Text record edited by Andrea Hasenbank at 2005-09-29 13:09:36

Figure A11
University of Alberta Peer Health Educators, "Sexual Health Bill of Rights"
date unknown
ref. 061

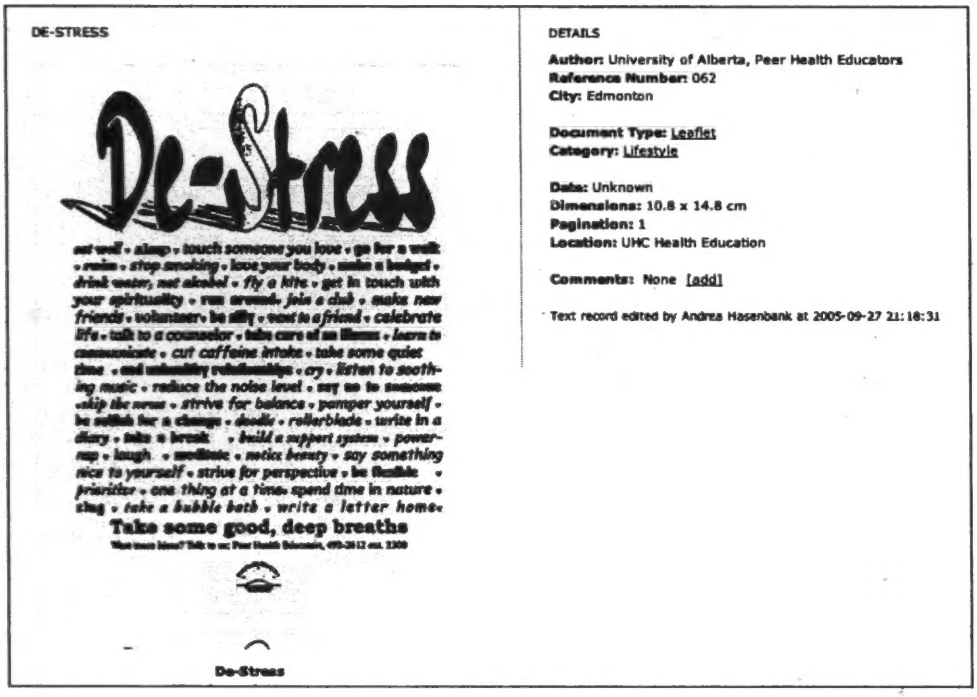
DE-STRESS
De-Stress
eat well • sleep • touch someone you love • go for a walk • swim • stop smoking • love your body • make a budget • drink water, not alcohol • fly a kite • get in touch with your spirituality • run around • join a club • make new friends • volunteer • be silly • vent to a friend • celebrate life • talk to a counselor • take care of an illness • learn to communicate • cut caffeine intake • take some quiet time • end unhealthy relationships • cry • listen to soothing music • reduce the noise level • say no to someone • skip the news • strive for balance • pamper yourself • be selfish for a change • doodle • rollerblade • write in a diary • take a break • build a support system • power-nap • laugh • meditate • notice beauty • say something nice to yourself • strive for perspective • be flexible • prioritize • one thing at a time • spend time in nature • hug • take a bubble bath • write a letter home •
Take some good, deep breaths
De-Stress
DETAILS
Author: University of Alberta, Peer Health Educators
Reference Number: 062
City: Edmonton
Document Type: Leaflet
Category: Lifestyle
Date: Unknown
Dimensions: 10.8 x 14.8 cm
Pagination: 1
Location: UHC Health Education
Comments: None [add]
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Figure A12
University of Alberta Peer Health Educators, "De-Stress"
date unknown
ref. 062

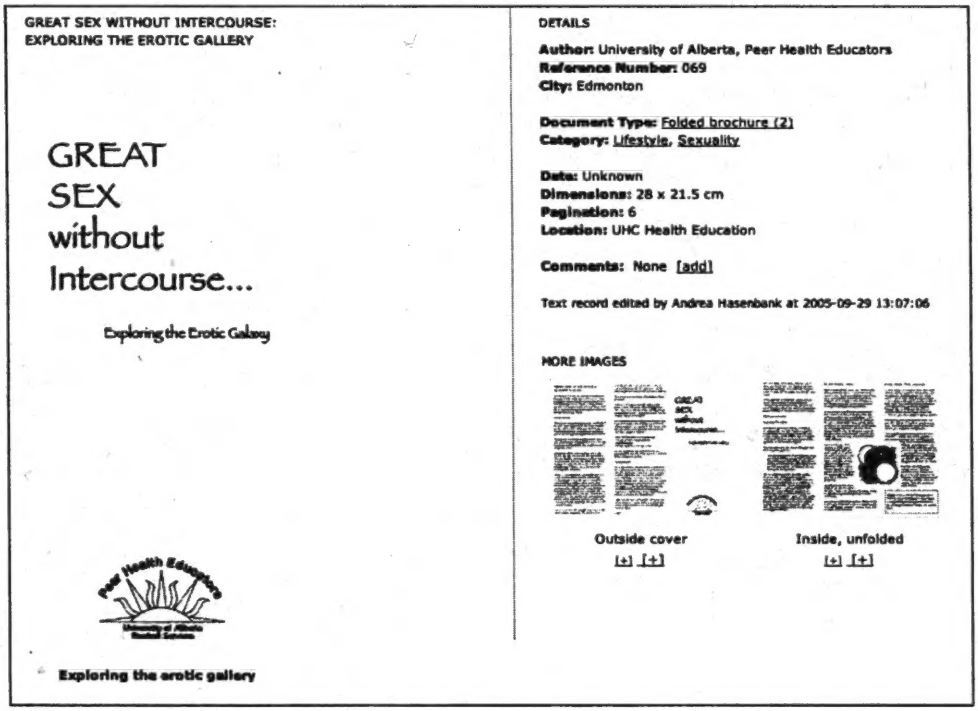


Figure A13
University of Alberta Peer Health Educators, "Great Sex Without Intercourse: Exploring the Erotic Gallery"
date unknown
ref. 069

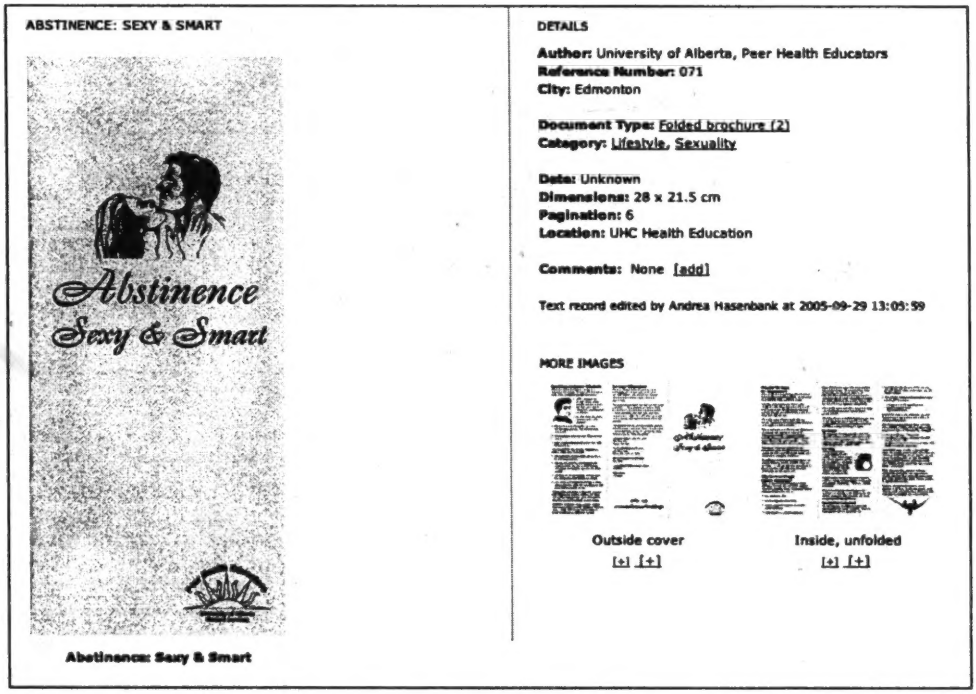
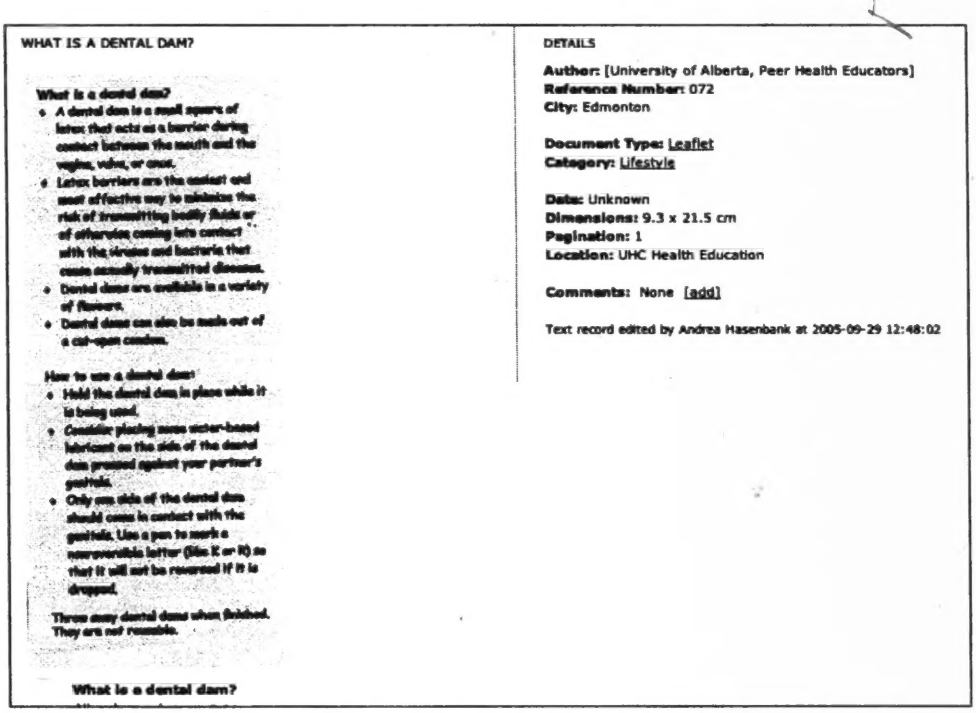


Figure A14
University of Alberta Peer Health Educators, "Abstinence: Sexy and Smart"
date unknown
ref. 071



WHAT IS A DENTAL DAM?

What is a dental dam?

- A dental dam is a small square of latex that acts as a barrier during contact between the mouth and the vagina, vulva, or anus.
- Latex barriers are the easiest and most effective way to minimize the risk of transmitting bodily fluids or of otherwise coming into contact with the viruses and bacteria that cause sexually transmitted diseases.
- Dental dams are available in a variety of flavours.
- Dental dams can also be made out of a cut-open condom.

How to use a dental dam:

- Hold the dental dam in place while it is being used.
- Consider placing some water-based lubricant on the side of the dental dam pressed against your partner's genitals.
- Only one side of the dental dam should come in contact with the genitals. Use a pen to mark a non-reversible letter (like E or R) so that it will not be reversed if it is dropped.

Throw away dental dams when finished. They are not reusable.

What is a dental dam?

DETAILS

Author: [University of Alberta, Peer Health Educators]
Reference Number: 072
City: Edmonton

Document Type: Leaflet
Category: Lifestyle

Date: Unknown
Dimensions: 9.3 x 21.5 cm
Pagination: 1
Location: UHC Health Education

Comments: None [add]

Text record edited by Andrea Hasenbank at 2005-09-29 12:48:02

Figure A15
University of Alberta Peer Health Educators, "What is a dental dam?"
date unknown
ref. 072

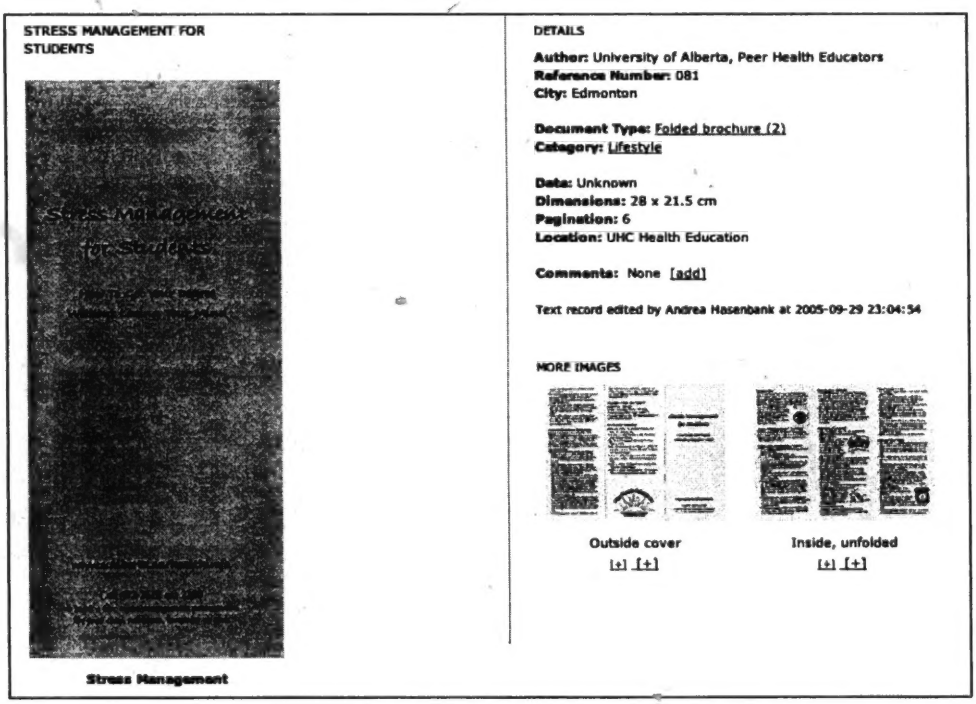


Figure A16
University of Alberta Peer Health Educators, "Stress Management for Students"
date unknown
ref. 081

WHATCHA DON'T KNOW CAN HURT YOU

Whatcha don't know...

DETAILS

Author: University of Alberta, Peer Health Educators
Reference Number: 087
City: Edmonton

Document Type: Folded brochure (2)
Category: Community support, Prevention, Reference

Date: Unknown
Dimensions: 28 x 21.5 cm
Pagination: 6
Location: UHC Health Education

Comments: None [add]

Text record edited by Andrea Hasenbank at 2005-09-29 23:25:20

MORE IMAGES

Inside, unfolded
[•] [+]

Figure A17
University of Alberta Peer Health Educators, "Whatcha don't know CAN hurt you"
date unknown
ref. 087

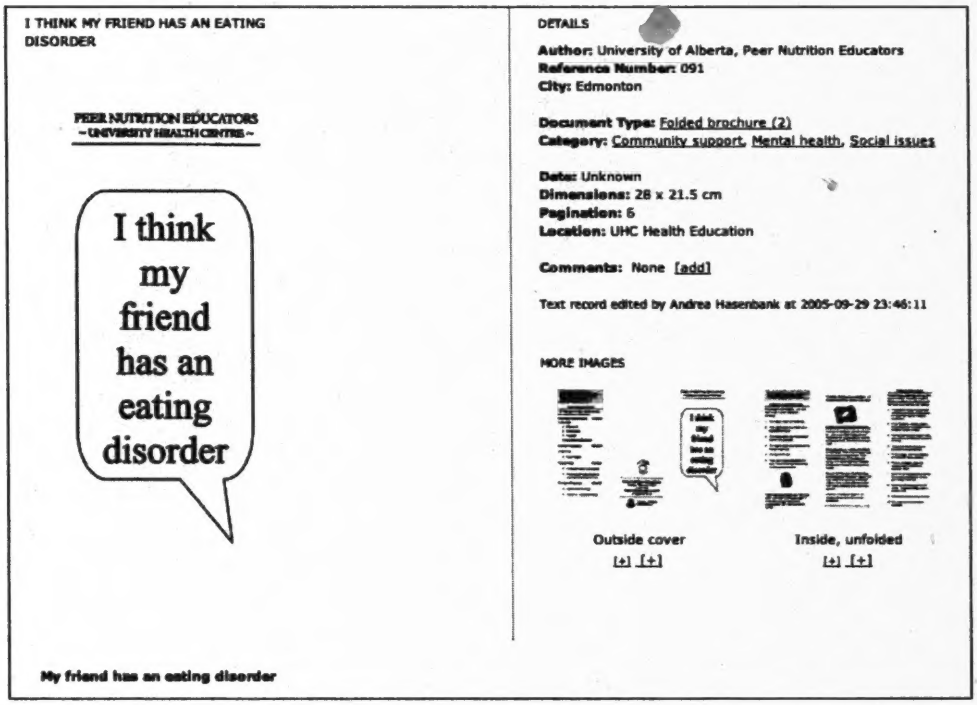
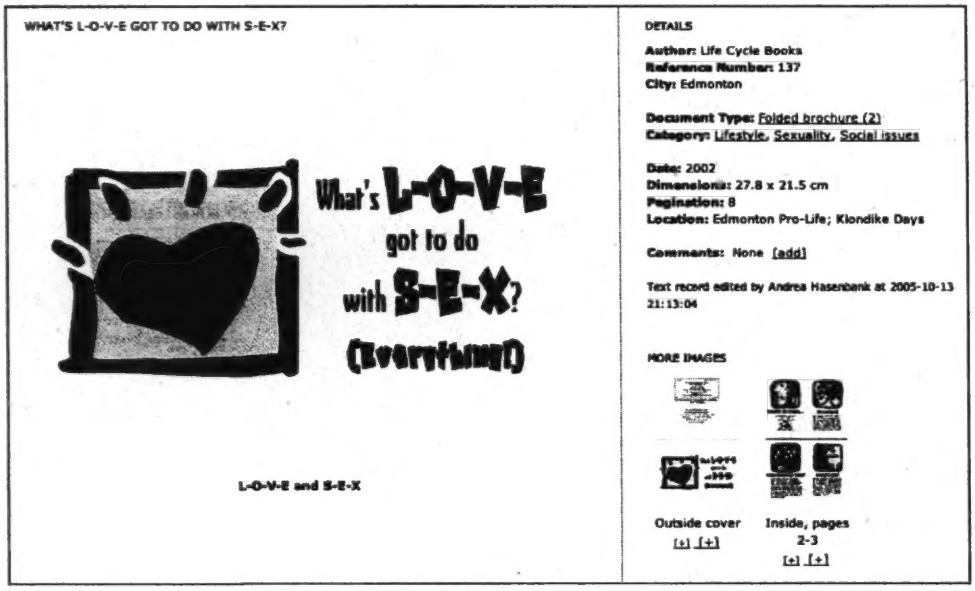

I THINK MY FRIEND HAS AN EATING DISORDER
PEER NUTRITION EDUCATORS
~UNIVERSITY HEALTH CENTRE~
I think my friend has an eating disorder
My friend has an eating disorder
DETAILS
Author: University of Alberta, Peer Nutrition Educators
Reference Number: 091
City: Edmonton
Document Type: Folded brochure (2)
Category: Community support, Mental health, Social issues
Date: Unknown
Dimensions: 28 x 21.5 cm
Pagination: 6
Location: UHC Health Education
Comments: None [add]
Text record edited by Andrea Hasenbank at 2005-09-29 23:46:11
MORE IMAGES
Outside cover
[+] [+]
Inside, unfolded
[+] [+]

Figure A18
University of Alberta Peer Health Educators, "I think my friend has an eating disorder"
date unknown
ref. 091


WHAT'S L-O-V-E GOT TO DO WITH S-E-X?
What's L-O-V-E got to do with S-E-X? (Everything)
L-O-V-E and S-E-X
DETAILS
Author: Life Cycle Books
Reference Number: 137
City: Edmonton
Document Type: Folded brochure (2)
Category: Lifestyle, Sexuality, Social issues
Date: 2002
Dimensions: 27.8 x 21.5 cm
Pagination: 8
Location: Edmonton Pro-Life; Klondike Days
Comments: None [add]
Text record edited by Andrea Hasenbank at 2005-10-13 21:13:04
MORE IMAGES
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Inside, pages 2-3 [+] [+]

Figure A19
Life Cycle Books, "What's L-O-V-E got to do with S-E-X?"
2002
ref. 137

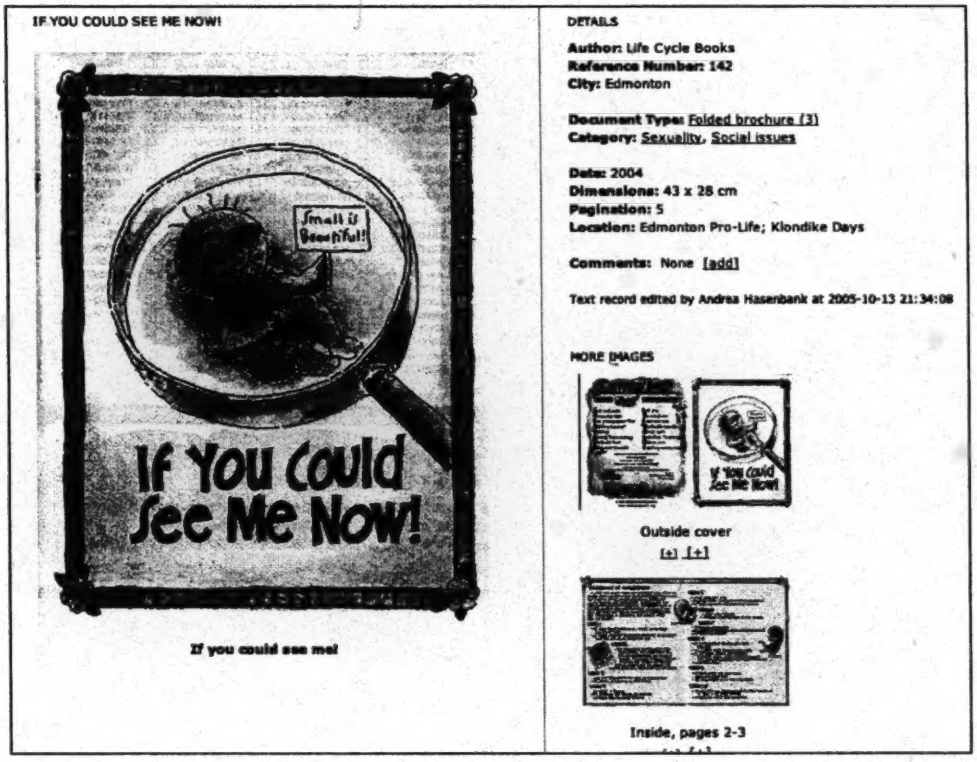

Figure A20
Life Cycle Books, "If You Could See Me Now!"
2004
ref. 142

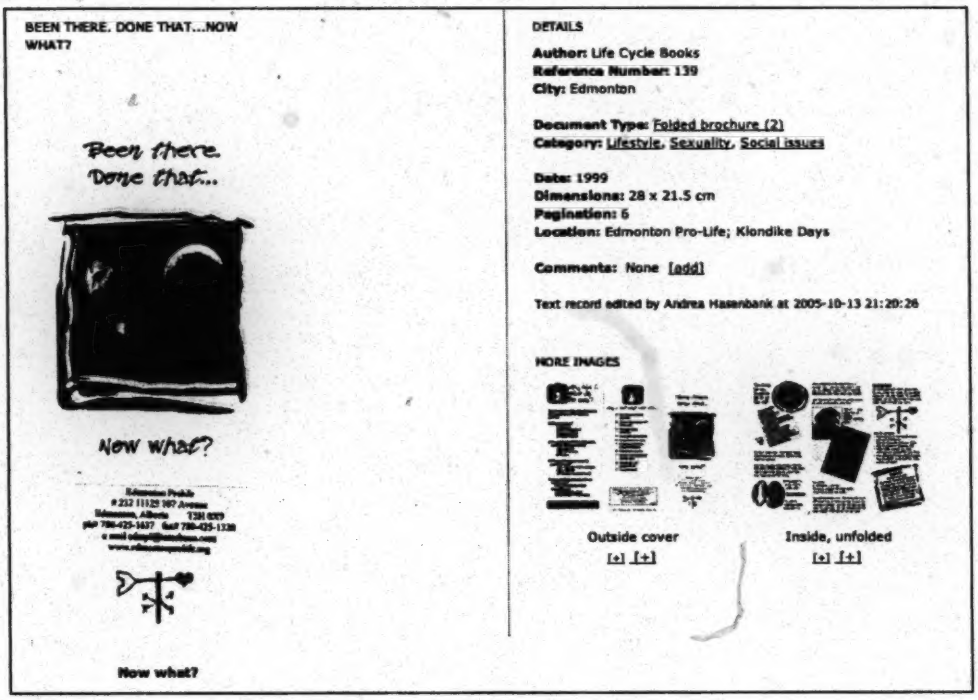

Figure A21
Life Cycle Books, "Been There, Done That...Now What?"
1999
ref. 139

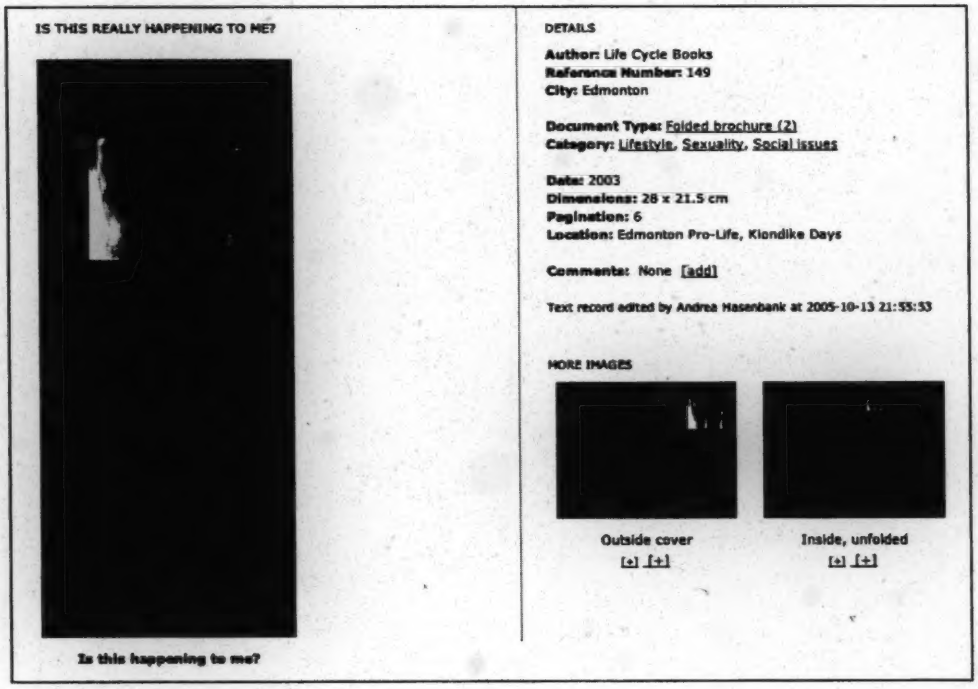

Figure A22
Life Cycle Books, "Is This Really Happening to Me?"
2003
ref. 149

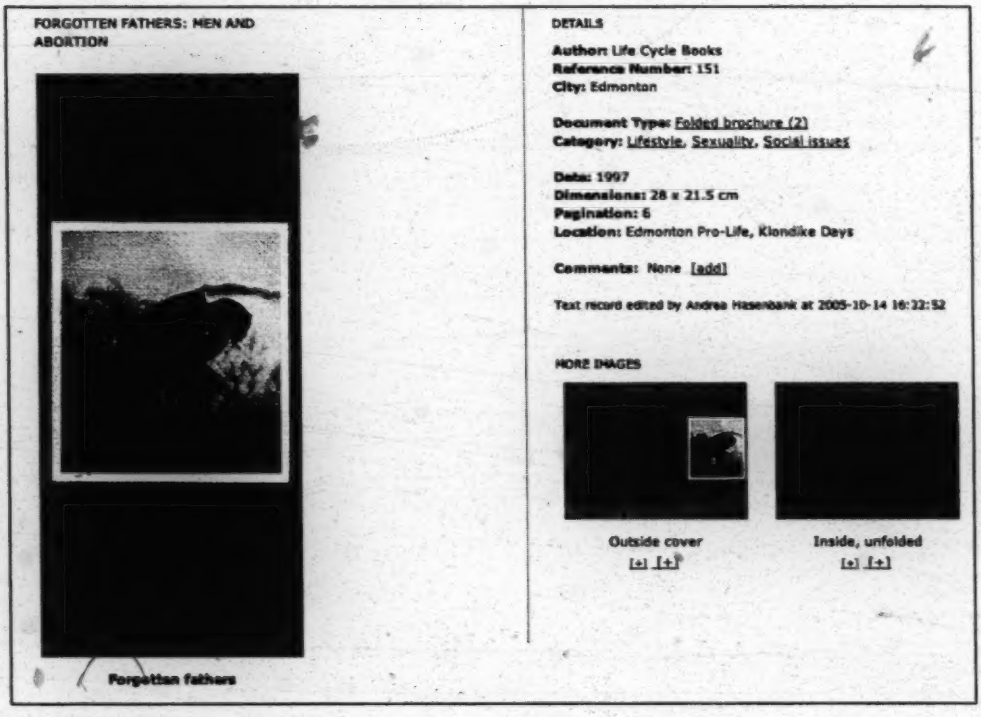

Figure A23
Life Cycle Books, "Forgotten Fathers: Men and Abortion"
1997
ref. 151

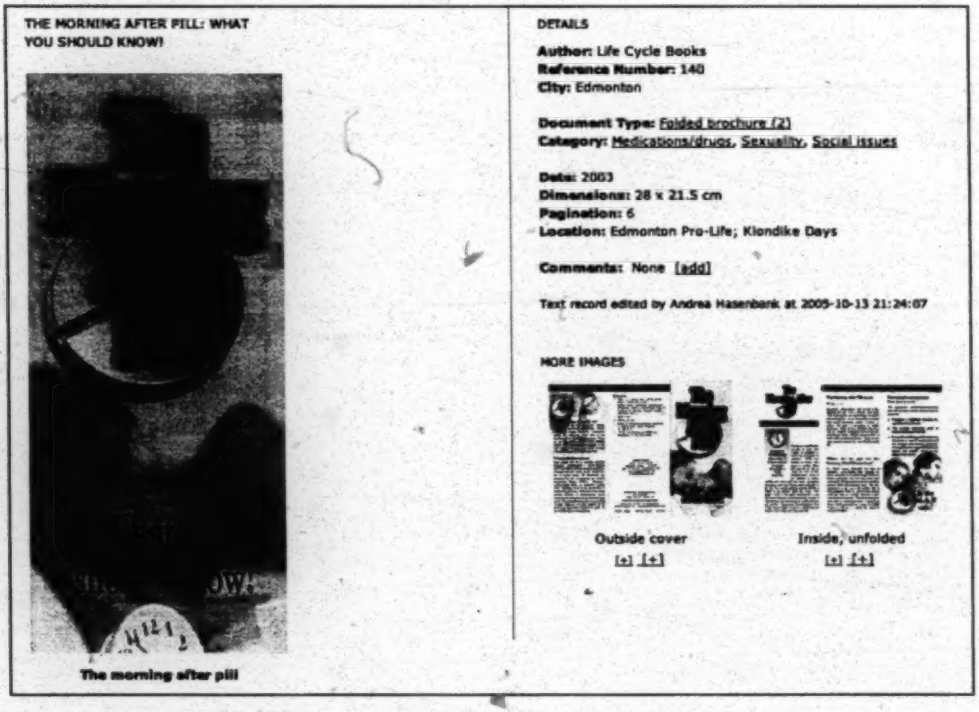

Figure A24
Life Cycle Books, "The Morning After Pill: What you should know!"
2003
ref. 140

MORNING AFTER PILL

ning After Pill safe?

of the side effects are: nausea, possible infertility, breast tenderness, ectopic pregnancy (conception inside the fallopian tubes that is life threatening) or blood clot formation. There are no long term studies to show whether women will be permanently damaged, or risk such diseases as cancer, as a result of these chemicals being given in such high doses.

What is the best option?

Some people may try to convince you that emergency contraception is totally without risk. Don't believe it. If you're single, abstinence is always your best choice. It isn't always easy, but it always works. By abstaining, you eliminate the risk of pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases (STD's). Emergency contraception offers no protection against STD's including AIDS. If you are married, be faithful to your spouse. Take time to learn about natural methods of contraception, which increase your awareness of your body and how it works. Natural methods involve no potentially harmful chemicals, and never threaten the life of your pre-born child. Be good to yourself. Do not use emergency contraception.

References:

1. Wilks, J. *A Consumer's Guide to the Pill and other Drugs.* 2nd Edition 1997. p. 154.
2. Rahwan, Prof. R, *Contraceptives, Interceptives and Abortifacients.* Division of Pharmacology, College of Pharmacy, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio 43210. 1995. p. 7
3. Wilks, p. 154.
4. Wilks, p. 155-156.
5. Rabone, D. Postcoital contraception-coping with the Morning After. *Current Therapeutics.* Jan. 1990. p. 47.
6. USP DI. Drug Information for Health Care Professionals. 12th Ed., 1992, p.1355.

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Figure A24 – detail
References

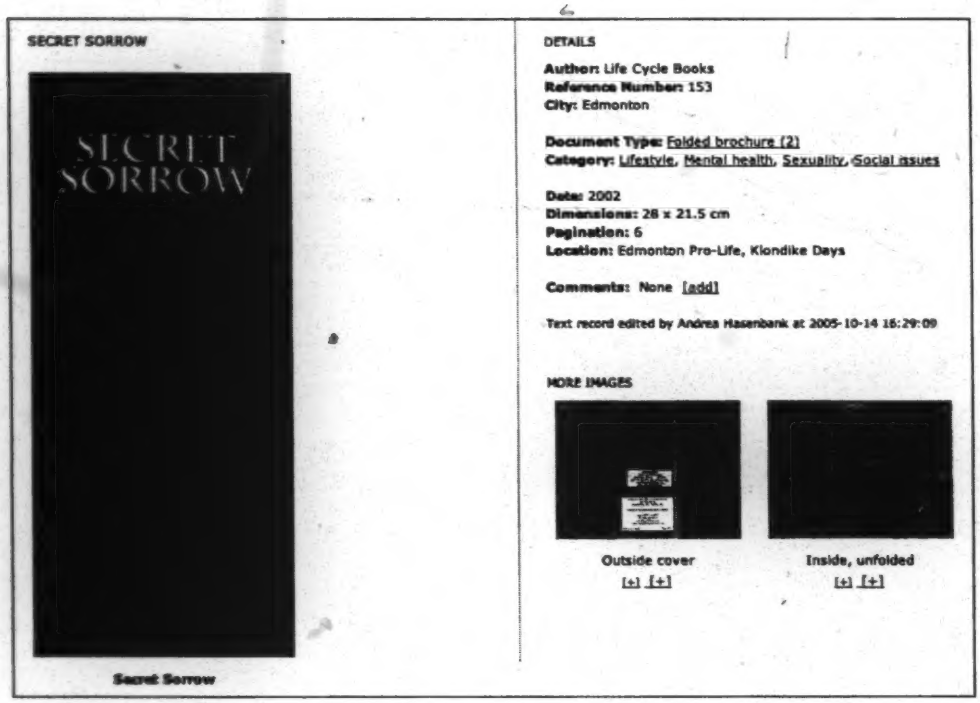

Figure A25
Life Cycle Books, "Secret Sorrow"
2002
ref. 153

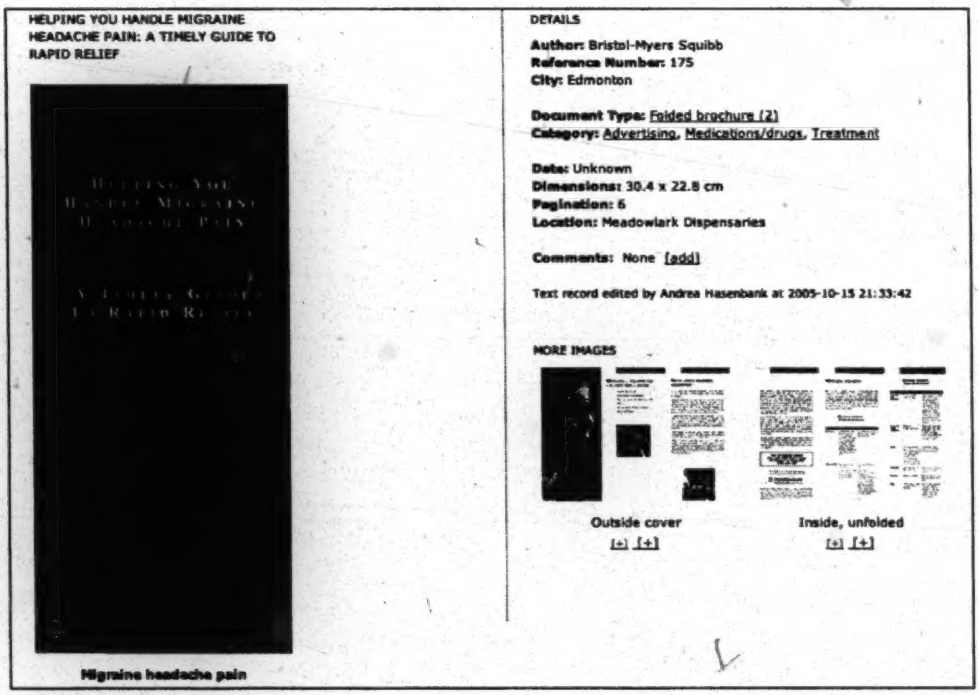

Figure A26
Bristol-Myers Squibb, "Helping you Handle Migraine Headache Pain: A Timely Guide to Rapid Relief"
date unknown
ref. 175

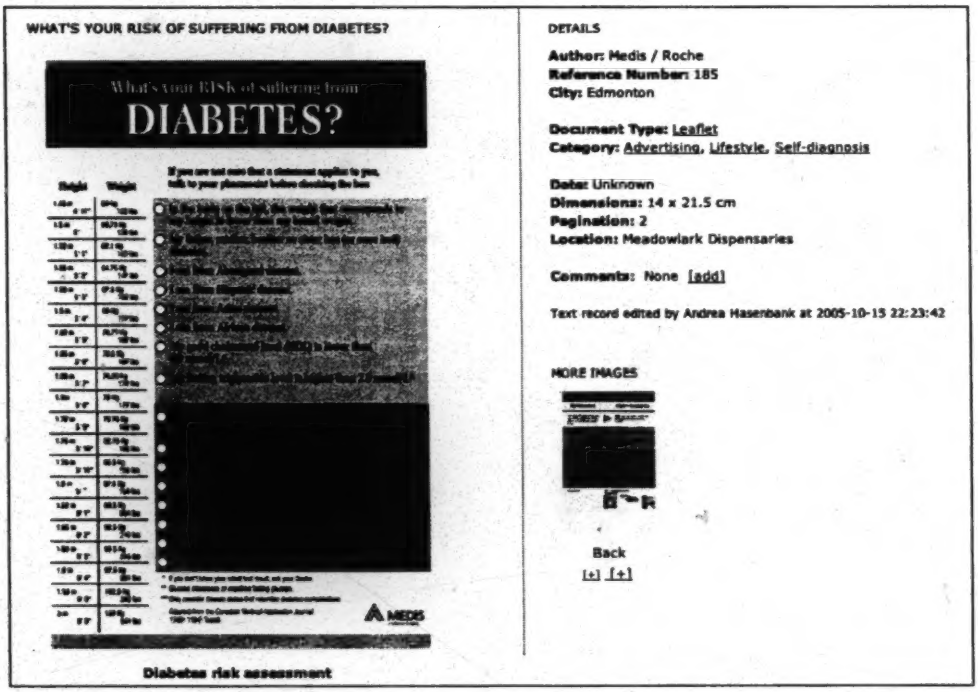

Figure A27
Medis/Roche, "What's your RISK of suffering from DIABETES?"
date unknown
ref. 185

HOPE AND HEALING: WHEN SOMEONE YOU KNOW HAS HAD AN ABORTION

Hope and Healing

DETAILS

Author: Life Cycle Books
Reference Number: 154
City: Edmonton

Document Type: Folded brochure (2)
Category: Lifestyle, Sexuality, Social issues

Date: 1998
Dimensions: 28 x 21.5 cm
Pagination: 6
Location: Edmonton Pro-Life, Klondike Days

Comments: None [add]

Text record edited by Andrea Hasenbank at 2005-10-14 16:33:25

MORE IMAGES

Outside cover
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Inside, unfolded
[+] [+]

Figure A28
Life Cycle Books, "Hope and Healing"
1998
ref. 154

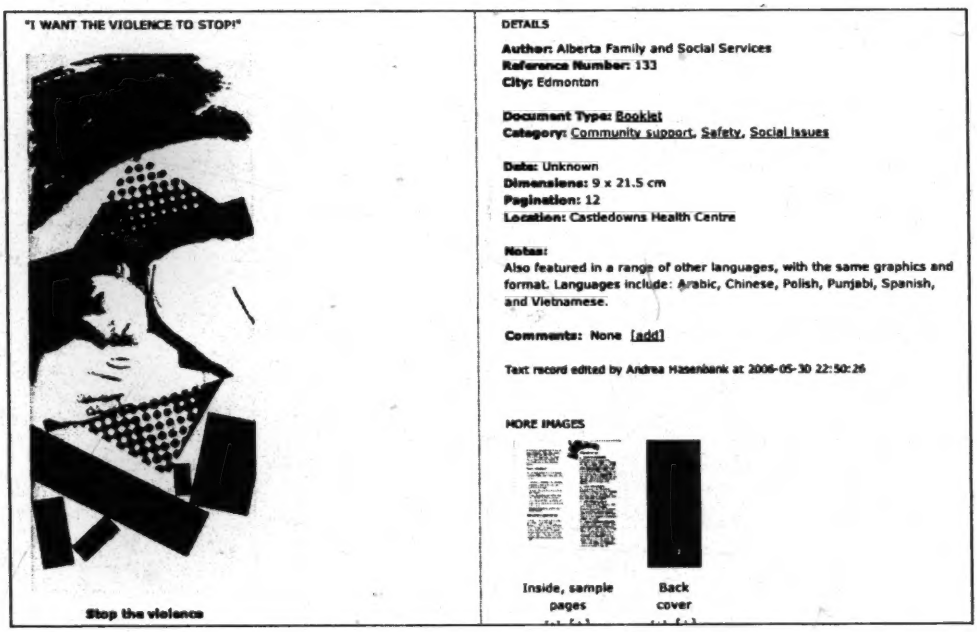
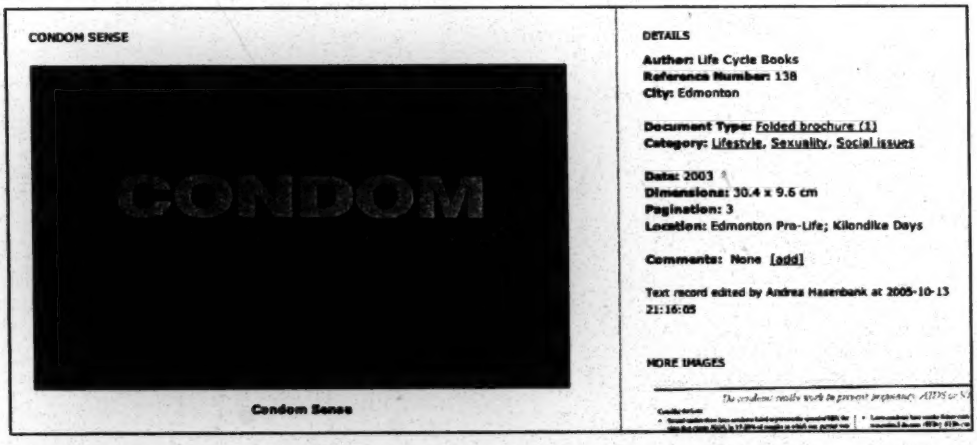
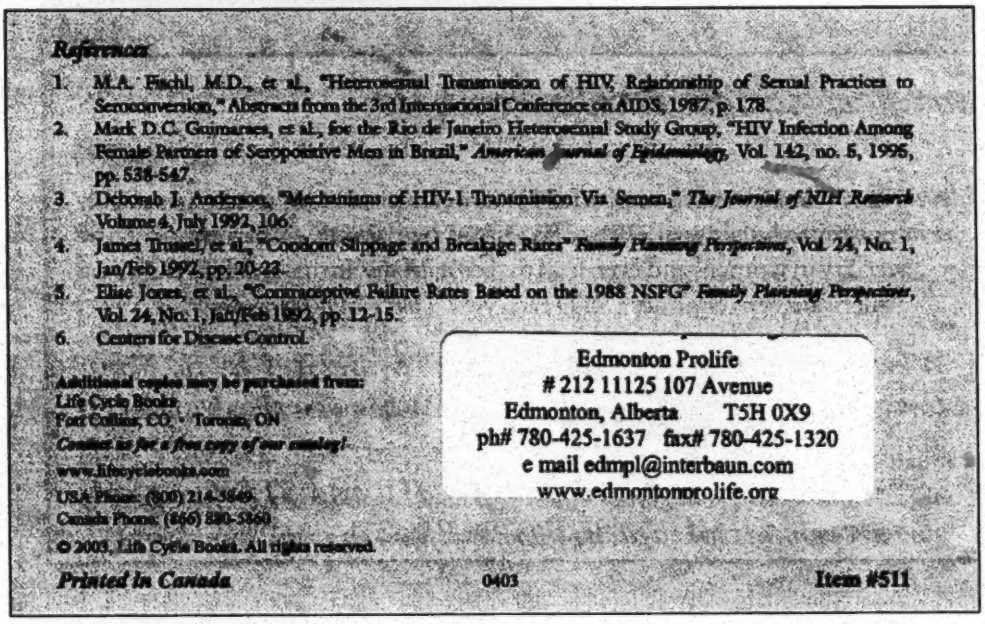

"I WANT THE VIOLENCE TO STOP!"
Stop the violence
DETAILS
Author: Alberta Family and Social Services
Reference Number: 133
City: Edmonton
Document Type: Booklet
Category: Community support, Safety, Social issues
Date: Unknown
Dimensions: 9 x 21.5 cm
Pagination: 12
Location: Castledowns Health Centre
Notes:
Also featured in a range of other languages, with the same graphics and format. Languages include: Arabic, Chinese, Polish, Punjabi, Spanish, and Vietnamese.
Comments: None [add]
Text record edited by Andrea Hasenbank at 2006-05-30 22:50:26
MORE IMAGES
Inside, sample pages
Back cover

Figure A29
Alberta Family and Social Services, "I want the violence to stop!"
date unknown
ref. 133





References

1. M.A. Fischl, M.D., et al., "Heterosexual Transmission of HIV, Relationship of Sexual Practices to Seroconversion," Abstracts from the 3rd International Conference on AIDS, 1987, p. 178.
2. Mark D.C. Guimaraes, et al., for the Rio de Janeiro Heterosexual Study Group, "HIV Infection Among Female Partners of Seropositive Men in Brazil," *American Journal of Epidemiology*, Vol. 142, no. 5, 1995, pp. 538-547.
3. Deborah J. Anderson, "Mechanisms of HIV-1 Transmission Via Semen," *The Journal of NIH Research* Volume 4, July 1992, 106.
4. Jamet Trussel, et al., "Condom Slippage and Breakage Rates" *Family Planning Perspectives*, Vol. 24, No. 1, Jan/Feb 1992, pp. 20-23.
5. Elise Jones, et al., "Contraceptive Failure Rates Based on the 1988 NSFG" *Family Planning Perspectives*, Vol. 24, No. 1, Jan/Feb 1992, pp. 12-15.
6. Centers for Disease Control.

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www.edmontonprolife.org

Figure A30 and detail
Life Cycle Books, "Condom Sense"
2003
ref. 138
References

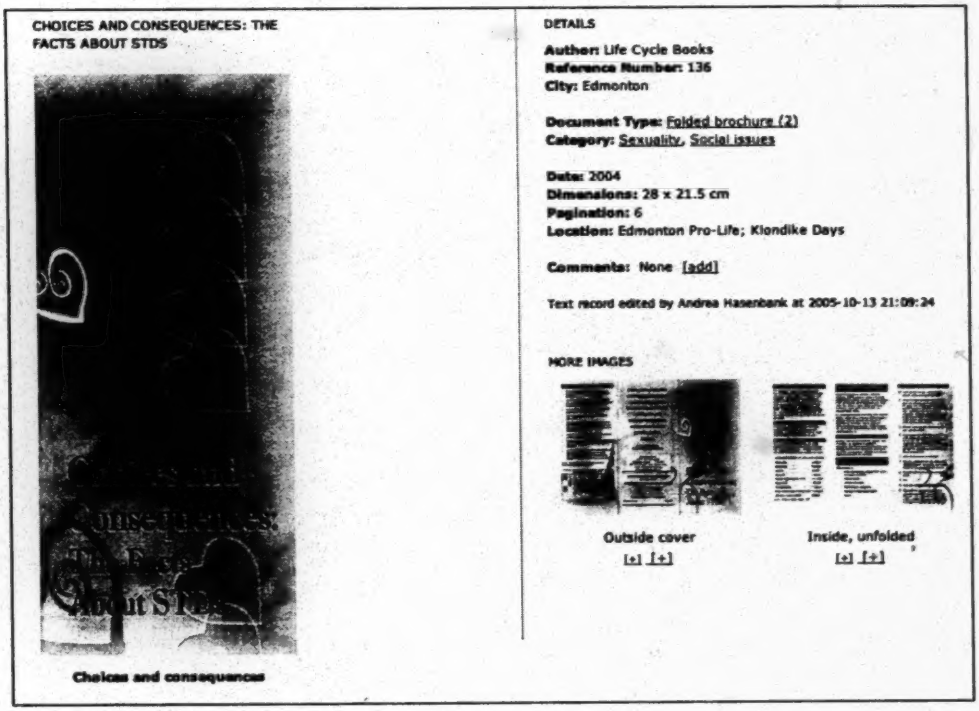


Figure A31
Life Cycle Books, "Choices and Consequences: The Facts About STDs"
2004
ref. 136

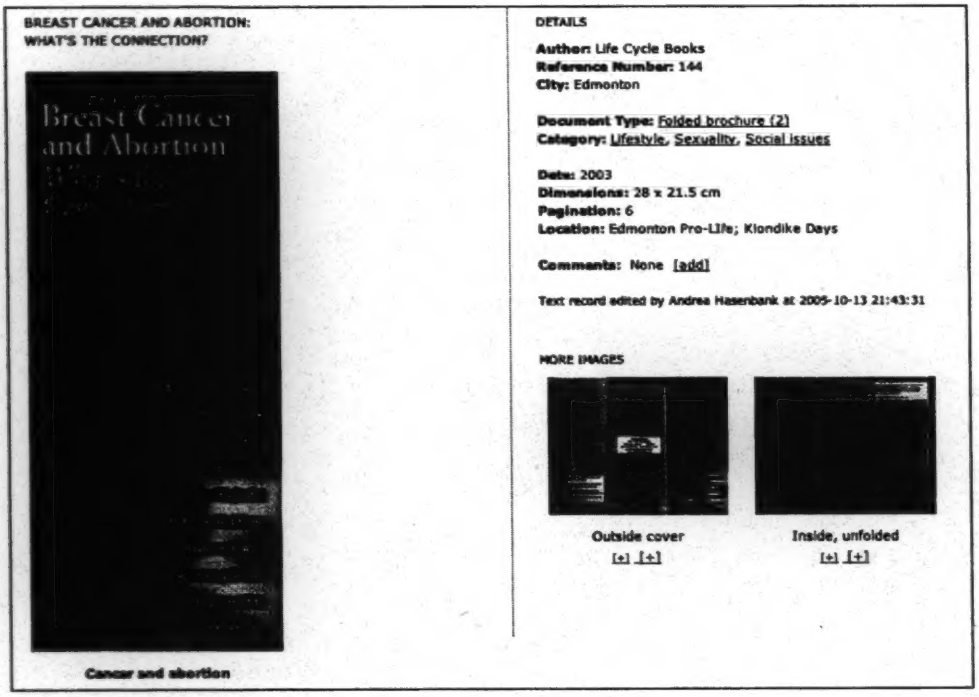


Figure A32
Life Cycle Books, "Breast Cancer and Abortion: What's the Connection?"
2003
ref. 144

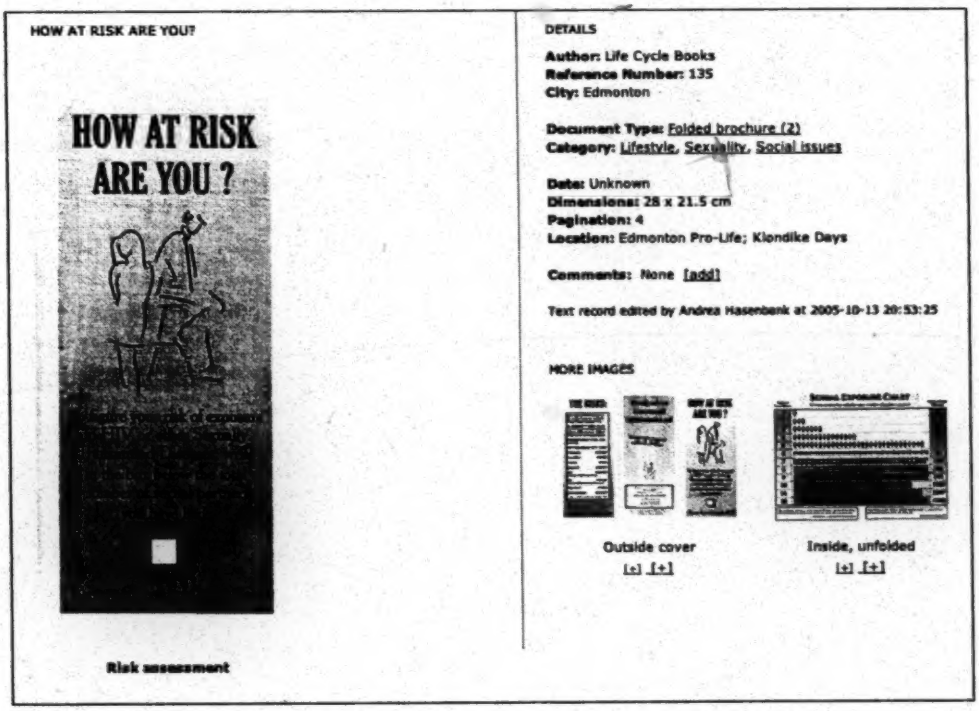
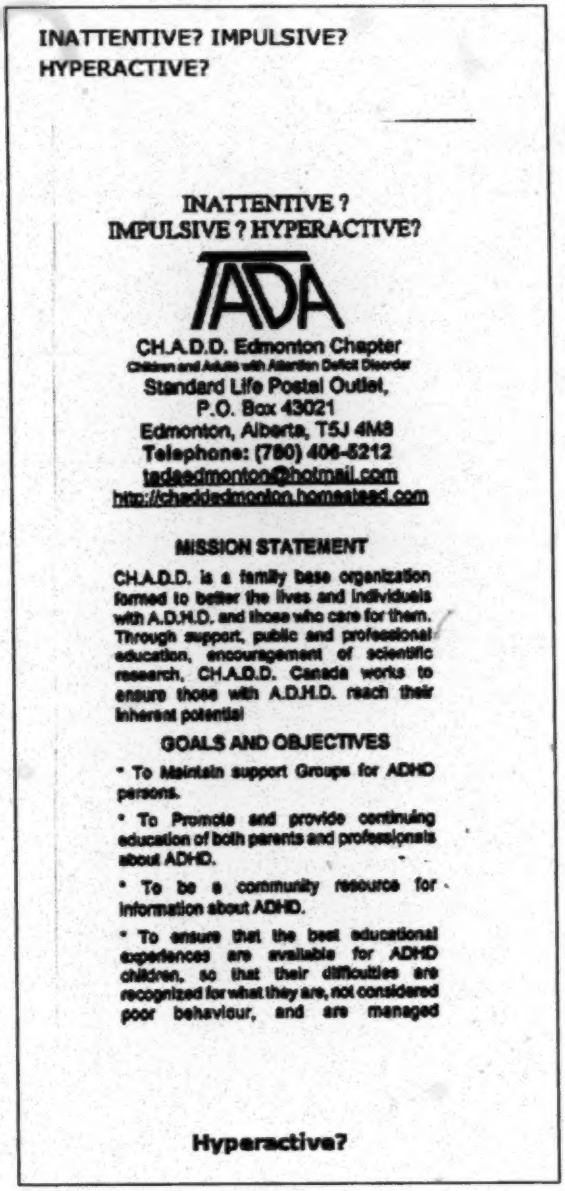


Figure A33
Life Cycle Books, "How at Risk Are You?"
date unknown
ref. 135


INATTENTIVE? IMPULSIVE?
HYPERACTIVE?

INATTENTIVE ?
IMPULSIVE ? HYPERACTIVE?

TADA

CH.A.D.D. Edmonton Chapter
Children and Adults with Attention Deficit Disorder
Standard Life Postal Outlet,
P.O. Box 43021
Edmonton, Alberta, T5J 4M8
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tadaedmonton@hotmail.com
http://chaddedmonton.homestead.com

MISSION STATEMENT

CH.A.D.D. is a family base organization formed to better the lives and individuals with A.D.H.D. and those who care for them. Through support, public and professional education, encouragement of scientific research, CH.A.D.D. Canada works to ensure those with A.D.H.D. reach their inherent potential

GOALS AND OBJECTIVES

* To Maintain support Groups for ADHD persons.

* To Promote and provide continuing education of both parents and professionals about ADHD.

* To be a community resource for information about ADHD.

* To ensure that the best educational experiences are available for ADHD children, so that their difficulties are recognized for what they are, not considered poor behaviour, and are managed

Hyperactive?

Figure A34
TADA, "Inattentive? Hyperactive? Impulsive?"
date unknown
ref. 113

Appendix B

This Appendix contains diagrams of the communications circuit, as developed by Robert Darnton, modified by Thomas R. Adams and Nicolas Barker, and as adapted by me.

Figure B1 is reproduced from Robert Darnton, "What is the History of Books?" in *The Book History Reader*, David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery, eds. New York: Routledge, 2002. 13.

Figure B2 is reproduced from Thomas R. Adams and Nicolas Barker, "A New Model for the Study of the Book" in *A Potencie of Life: Books in Society*, Nicolas Barker, ed. London: The British Library, 2001. 14.

Figure B3 was created using the OmniGraffle program, and draws on both of the above models.

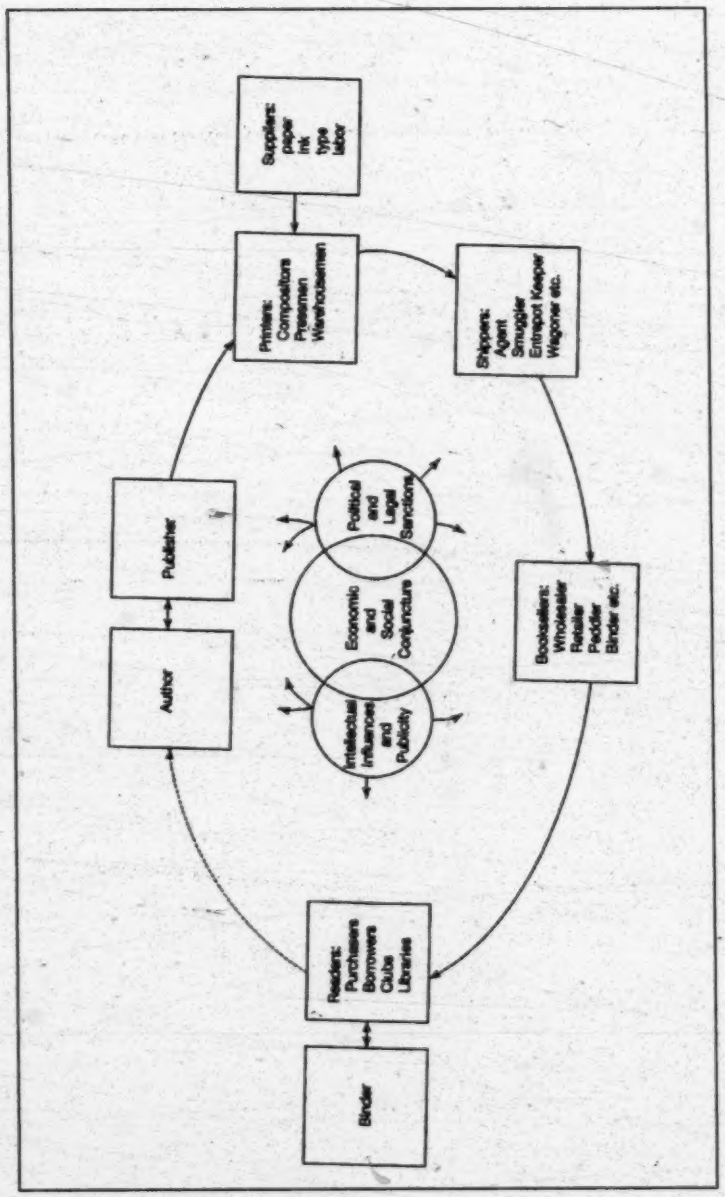

Figure B1
Darnton's communications circuit

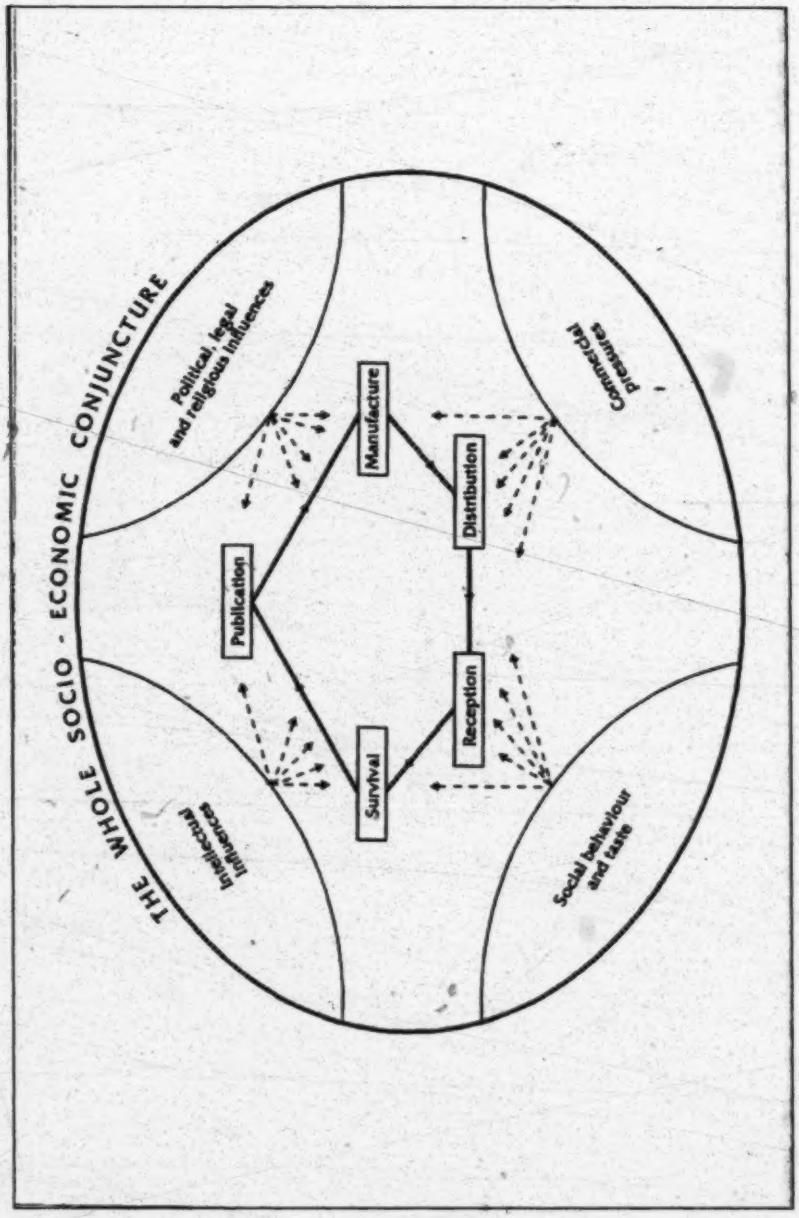

Figure B2
Adams and Barker's communications circuit

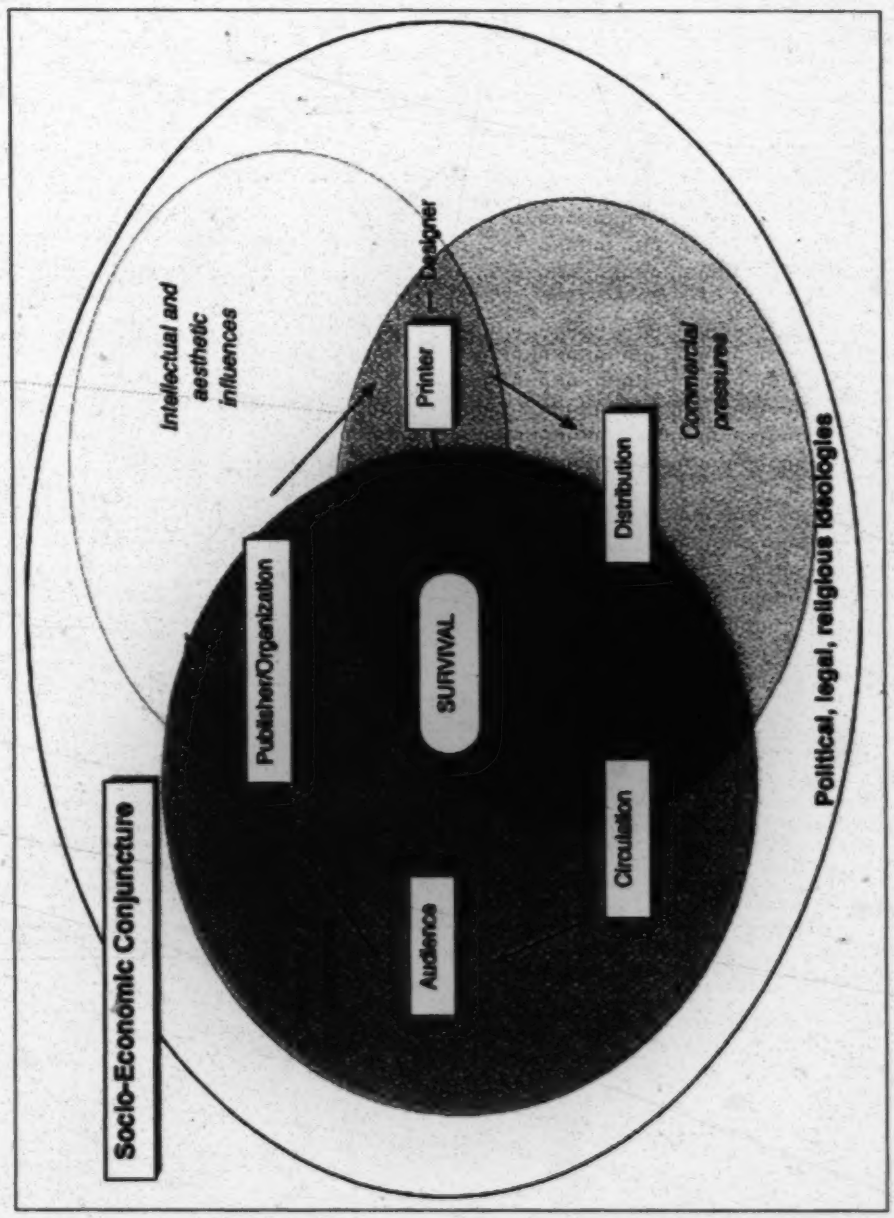

Figure B3
Reconfiguration of the communications circuit